

Hostility to Paul in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13,45) — Why?

With Acts 13,45, Luke introduces his reader to a hostility not yet experienced in the Antioch (Pisidia) story⁽¹⁾. The verb forms ἀντέλεγον and βλασφημοῦντες reveal as an opposition which ends only with the forced exit of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch; indeed, those driving the missionaries out of their city try to have Paul and Barnabas driven from Lystra (Acts 14,19) as well. One asks why this opposition?

The immediate response centers directly on the two terms ζῆλος and οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. The matter continues when one recognizes that the circumstance, ἰδόντες τοὺς ὄχλους, gives rise to this opposition. These ‘crowds’ in turn is synonymous with σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις which precedes and τὰ ἔθνη which follows. All told, the hostility Luke describes gives rise to a vocabulary and to a general image which are impressive. Even more so, they give rise to a perplexity on the reader’s part: what has happened to the peace and joy and success which pervades the story as narrated in Acts 13,13-43?

A brief re-reading of those first 21 verses shows no sign of, or reason for ἀντέλεγον or ζῆλος; indeed, there is no group identified as οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, nor are ‘crowds’ or ‘pagans’ yet identified. There is only satisfaction on the part of those who heard Paul in the synagogue, and willingly given blessing on the part of Paul and Barnabas — quite the opposite of rebuff and anger; the change in mood and atmosphere is sudden, at v. 44, and all the more shocking. Indeed, as we leave v. 43, we seem headed for the next Sabbath’s further explanation of the welcomed λόγος παρακλήσεως brought to Antioch’s synagogue by Paul and Barnabas. One can, again, wonder at the appearance of new vocabulary and circumstance, and ask for an explanation of it.

I. A First Consideration of ζῆλος

Perhaps the best way to begin this search for explanation is with the word ζῆλος. The dictionary presentation offers two possibilities:

(1) For a number of exegetes, the life of Paul often parallels in important elements that of Peter in the first half of Acts – intentionally so. Thus, we will find the High Priest full of ζῆλος in dealing with Peter at 5,17.

‘jealousy’ and ‘zeal’⁽²⁾. Without prejudice as to the goodness or badness of the jealousy or zeal, one looks for its cause and object in vv. 44 and 45. One at first looks in vain. But, as one reads on beyond v. 44, the conviction grows that we are concerned about something which the Gentiles or pagans enjoy and which incites the jealousy or zeal of a group now, in this episode, for the first time identified as ‘the Jews’⁽³⁾.

II. The Sense of τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου

The only identification of this ‘something’ is wrapped in the phrasing ἀκούσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου (vv. 44 and 48), which appears as well under the guise of τοῖς ὑπὸ Παύλου λεγομένοις (v. 45) and τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ (v. 46).

‘Jealousy’ and ‘zeal’, then, center upon the pagans who gather to hear willingly⁽⁴⁾ the ‘word of the Lord’⁽⁵⁾. Those who are zealous and jealous are so in regard to the ‘word of the Lord’⁽⁶⁾; they ‘speak abusively’ against and ‘oppose’ the words spoken by Paul, to which words authorial authority gives no other identity than ‘the word of the Lord’, or, one must finally conclude, that very concrete λόγος παρακλήσεως which the reader has just read. One searches in vain for some indication that, on this subsequent Sabbath, when ‘almost all the

(²) Cf. W. BAUER – W. ARNDT – F. GINGRICH, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago 1957) 338.

(³) ζήλος – “Damit ist zweifellos nicht so sehr der ‘blosse Neid auf den missionarischen Erfolg des Paulus und Barnabas’ [J. Roloff, Apg 209] gemeint [so aber z.B. G. Stählin], sondern wohl eher eine ‘theologisch’ bedingte Haltung umschrieben, die sich ‘nährt...aus dem ‘Eifer’ für das Gesetz...: Die Juden ‘glauben durch das Hinzuströmen der Heiden auf das blosse Angebot des Glaubens an Christus hin die Reinheit, ja den Bestand Israels gefährdet’ [J. Roloff, Apg 209] und sehen in der neuen Heilslehre einen Affront gegen die mosaische Ordnung, zu der an 1. Stelle die Beschneidung und die Kultgesetze gehören”; J. ZMJEWski, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (RNT; Regensburg 1994) 518.

(⁴) From Luke’s general use of ἀκούω, one can assume that the pagans’ gathering to ‘hear’ in itself suggests at least the very positive inclination to listen favorably. This understanding of the situation gives rise to ‘the Jews’.

(⁵) One does not confuse zeal and jealousy with anger. The zeal of ‘the Jews’ focuses upon the ‘word of the Lord’ as it is presented to τὰ ἔθνη. J.D.G. DUNN, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Epworth Commentaries; London 1996) 184, says that, in part, ζήλος is theological in sense, but identifies this more exactly by its purpose: “to maintain Israel’s set-apartness”.

(⁶) E. HAENCHEN, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen 1977) 397, identifies the Word of God as ‘die christliche Predigt’. But this preaching is what calls forth ζήλος from οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι; the ‘preaching of Christ’ would be met with doubt and refusal, but would hardly have the effect we meet in v. 45.

city’ comes to Paul and Barnabas, the Christian apostles spoke some words other than what we have in Paul’s speech in the synagogue or in the later summary phrases: ‘the word of the Lord’, ‘the word of God’.

Indeed, such is the way Luke wrote that these latter and summary phrases stand for what Paul has concretely expressed in his synagogue homily. What ‘almost all the city’ gathered to hear can have no other definition that what is a continuation of what we have read thus far in the Pauline homily in Antioch. One is at a loss to identify these words, ‘the word of the Lord’ and ‘the word of God’, as essentially or substantially different from what Paul has been known to preach in Antioch.

Chances are slim, or none, that one can avoid the conclusion: zeal and jealousy are aroused because ‘the word of the Lord’ is being offered to Gentiles or pagans of Antioch, and that the word of consolation and exhortation given by Paul to the members of the synagogue in Antioch are now offered to the Gentiles or pagans of that city.

III. τὰ ἔθνη

At this point it is worthwhile to consider other, new terminology introduced by Luke here. We notes that only in these verses do we read of τὰ ἔθνη, a group equivalent to ‘almost all the city’ and ‘the crowds’. Given the structural importance of the Isaiah citation of justification at v. 47, τὰ ἔθνη becomes the term of choice.

We had already met with οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν at vv. 16 and 26. Given the atmosphere of peace surrounding those verses, these ‘Godfearers’ cannot be the ‘pagans’ of later verses. That the Godfearers are pagans in the sense of not Jews, and thus very much pagans or Gentiles — this is true. But their pagan or gentile character no longer presents to Jews a cause for opposition, a state of soul that would arouse the zeal and jealousy of Jews⁽⁷⁾.

In other words, what Paul had to say in the synagogue he said to both Jew and Godfearer, and no Jew was upset or put out by Paul’s directing his words to Godfearers. Now, there is great opposition to Paul’s words being spoken to pagans, Gentiles, τὰ ἔθνη. Crucial, then, to the hostility aroused against Paul and Barnabas is Luke’s notice that almost all the city has gathered ‘to hear the word of the Lord’. This

⁽⁷⁾ HAENCHEN, *Apostelgeschichte*, 398, is correct to indicate that “...brauchten die Juden eifersüchtig zu werden, wenn die Massen zu ihnen in die Synagoge strömen”, but is not correct to say that the Jews are concerned if the Christians “draw away the σεβόμενοι.” ‘The Jews’ are not concerned only about this non-Jewish group.

seemingly simple statement cannot not contain in it the reason for zeal and jealousy on the part of the group identified by the new term 'οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι' — these latter will not agree that God wants offered to τὰ ἔθνη more than what has been offered to Godfearers.

IV. οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι

The term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι appears in Acts⁽⁸⁾, but offers little help in precise understanding of the group that Luke signals to us here. The immediate context has its own contribution and is decisive⁽⁹⁾. One notices that Jewish believers in Antioch are, before v. 44, referred to explicitly as ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται and ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, υἱοὶ γένους Ἀβραάμ; as a unit they are called τὸν λαόν (v. 15); none of these terms is associated with hostility characterized by jealousy and zeal, nor are they repeated when the account turns to opposition and persecution. Nor can πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων (v. 43), who are so enthusiastic about Paul and Barnabas, be synonymous with 'the Jews' of v. 45⁽¹⁰⁾.

'The Jews' has existence (and hence meaning) only in the context of zeal and jealousy in regard to the pagans over 'the word of the Lord'. From this story one would not rule out the possibility that οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι of v. 45 includes at least some, if few, of 'the Godfearers'. In other words, Luke's story suggests that the term 'the Jews' is characterized by religious persuasion about religious truths, not by ethnic identity⁽¹¹⁾. Thus, one can conclude, in this context, that not all

⁽⁸⁾ Consider 9,23 (opposed to 9,22); possibly 12,3.

⁽⁹⁾ "These Jews in Antioch behave typically and are an example of the general rule that 'the Jews' persecute Christianity", J.T. SANDERS, *The Jews in Luke-Acts* (London 1987) 263. While the observation is correct in its vocabulary, its explanation is pre-critical and usually based, unfortunately, on psychologization of the text.

⁽¹⁰⁾ It seems right to say that the group 'the Jews' appears again in 13,50, where hostility turns to expulsion of the missionaries. Probably Jews who fit the same category appear in the Iconium story (14,2); that their opposition to Paul is based on his preaching to the Gentiles (as in 13,45) is not clear; indeed, in Iconium, it is a crowd of Gentiles and Jews that opposes Paul. Acts 14,19 seems to call attention again to the group 'the Jews'; these oppose Paul and persuade the crowds (apparently pagan) to drive Paul away. There is no suggestion now that the main point of contention is the offer of salvation to the pagans; on the other hand, reference to 'Jews from Antioch' cannot but remind the reader that this offer to pagans is certainly one of the matters at the heart of this opposition.

⁽¹¹⁾ Cf. G. LOHFINK, *Die Sammlung Israels* (München 1975) 55: The Jews lose their opportunity to be "das wahre Gottesvolk zu sein – so wurde zum Judentum!". Acts is too complicated to give rise to such a judgment. For instance,

Jews are ‘the Jews’. If, in other words, Paul had not offered ‘the word of the Lord’ to pagans, there would be felt no jealousy and zeal to give rise to hostility and ‘the Jews’ would not have existed in Antioch.

Zeal and jealousy, then, are qualities which belong only in the context of the opposition Luke describes here. If we can now take the step that ‘the Jews’ are those who are jealous in regard to the pagans’ gathering to hear the word of the Lord, then this can only mean that ‘the Jews’ are those who are convinced that the pagans are receiving something only Jews should receive.

‘The Jews’ are zealous in regard to Paul’s sharing the word of the Lord with pagans. This can only mean that ‘the Jews’ are those who are eager, zealous to defend what is theirs from the hands of those who have no right to it. These Jews have understood Paul to go far beyond what they themselves offer to Godfearers; they must have understood so, because they react with jealousy and zeal only in the case of the offer of the word of the Lord to pagans, i.e., to those who have no intention of becoming Godfearers in the synagogue.

V. Again, the ‘word of the Lord’

What then is the content of ‘the word of the Lord’ which should not be offered to pagans? I mentioned earlier that ‘chances are slim or none’ that the word of the Lord, offered to pagans, was something other than that message which was preached in the synagogue of Antioch. One can look to previous uses of the term, ‘the word of the Lord’, in Acts so as to find significance there for our text here, but, given the way Luke has written his story, one cannot get away from the impression that, if one wants to know what Paul offered the pagans (and what irritated ‘the Jews’), one’s best option is to re-read the homily Paul had just given in the synagogue of Antioch.

What then in the synagogue homily might attract the pagans and be a source of irritation to ‘the Jews’?

1. On the one hand, the Pauline discourse is very much at home in the synagogue. It is rightly termed a synagogue homily, one based on Jewish ways⁽¹²⁾ of presenting a ‘word of consolation/exhortation’

those Christian Jews who opposed Peter in the Cornelius event (Acts 11,2-3) are not ‘lost’ by their opposition; nor is conversion impossible for the persecutors. What is at stake is Jewish acceptance of the Gentiles in the salvation offered to Israel – and not just as Godfearers.

⁽¹²⁾ Particularly crucial in the speech is the use of word play, such as *gezerah*

(13,15), for its success depends on its wide-ranging and adroit use of a proper reading of the Jewish Scripture.

The opening of the homily traces the history of the People⁽¹³⁾ as a history of God's⁽¹⁴⁾ work among them, a history drawn totally and allusively from the Writings so well known to Paul's audience. This divine, continual effort is reflected in a harmonious way in the completion of the homily, when, at the end of the discourse and using the authoritative words of the prophet Habakkuk⁽¹⁵⁾, the audience is asked not to ignore a 'work' of God, a 'work' which fits nicely into the history of all God's other works for Israel. God is the real subject of the homily; it is God who gives encouragement and consolation to His People⁽¹⁶⁾. It is God who works for His People.

shevah (as noted by, among others, T.L. JOHNSON, *The Acts of the Apostles* [SPS 5; Collegeville 1992] 238): note especially τὰ ὅσια/τὸν ὅσιόν; διαφθοράν/διαφθοράν/διαφθοράν; the redefining of ἐγείρω by ἀνίστημι which in turn is redefined by 'no longer to return to διαφθοράν; the redefining of σωτήρ by the promises fulfilled: forgiveness and justification. Note, however, the difference in the definition of ἐπαγγελία: on the one hand, the promise is Jesus; on the other, the promise is forgiveness and justification (through Jesus). Cf. F.F. BRUCE, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids 1990) 303, for references to the Jewish manner in this speech.

(¹³) Paul introduces, in his first words, a meaningful distinction. He had been asked to speak a word πρὸς τὸν λαόν; he immediately indicates that he wishes to speak about the God τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου. By this slight change, Paul 1. underlines the relationship between the ancient Israel and diaspora Israel, and 2. emphasizes that those to whom he is about to offer comfort and exhortation is this people of the diaspora.

(¹⁴) "Der Predigter sieht diese Geschichte ebenfalls ganz bestimmt von Gottes handeln", ZMIJEWSKI, *Apostelgeschichte*, 502. The entire homily focuses on what God has done for His People; from this perspective one understands that God has made use of "das exklusive Heilsinstrument [F. Mussner Apg 81]", ZMIJEWSKI, *Apostelgeschichte*, 509, for the purpose of fulfilling His promises entrusted to David for Israel: forgiveness and justification.

(¹⁵) Cf. M. BUSS, *Die Missionspredigt des Apostels Paulus im Pisidischen Antioch* (Stuttgart 1980) 134, "τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα (v. 42) dürfte darum wohl nicht auf die Rede insgesamt zu beziehen sein, sondern nur auf das abschliessende Zitat, das einer weiteren Erklärung bedarf".

(¹⁶) παράκλησις in this situation maintains both its meanings; thus the homily is both a comfort and an exhortation. The comfort lies in the forgiveness and justification which is the 'good news' preached by Paul, the fulfillment of God's promise(s) made to Israel and entrusted for her to David. The encouragement lies in the argumentation which urges and justifies belief that Jesus is the one through whom and in whom these blessings can be had, for, as is clear, he is My Son, the Holy One, and, given what he can do, Savior. DUNN, *Acts*, 179, bases his preference for simple 'exhortation' on Rom 12,8; Heb 13,22.

Into this context of divine labor is placed David, to whom, it will become clear, was entrusted the role of bestowing the holy blessings⁽¹⁷⁾ on Israel. Because of his singular significance and crucial role in history, Paul dwells upon David: ‘the man according to My own heart, a man who will execute all My desires’. The holy blessings for Israel are in this man’s hands⁽¹⁸⁾.

Now, the history of God’s work for His People is severely shortened⁽¹⁹⁾, in order to arrive at the time of John the Baptist. Apparently known to the Jews of Antioch, John gives credible witness to a ‘greater’ than he; Paul hereby lays the groundwork for belief in Jesus.

At this point, Paul introduces his audience to the latest of God’s works⁽²⁰⁾. Contrary to the appearance of justice in the death of Jesus of

⁽¹⁷⁾ In one sense, the ‘holy things’ are surely the “sure decrees of God relating to David”: cf. BAG, 589, under ὁσιος 2a. But if they are ‘related to David’, then I translate “they are entrusted to David”; the term τὰ πσά, in that it connotes, not God’s trustworthiness which is never in question, but the assurance that David will provide the ‘holy things’, helps strengthen the translation, “I will give to you the holy things entrusted to David (for you)”. Cf. J. FITZMYER, *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31; New York 1997) 517.

⁽¹⁸⁾ HAENCHEN, *Apostelgeschichte*, 400, identifies Jesus as “...in dem sich die Verheissung an David erfüllt ist”. It is only by having read the rest of the homily, especially v. 34, that one can understand why the Jewish history Paul relates stops with David and moves directly to Jesus. Cf. G. ROSSÉ, *Atti degli Apostoli* (Roma 1998) 511, “... il Risorto ha il potere di liberare [salvatore] l’uomo dalla schiavitù del peccato”.

⁽¹⁹⁾ It is not as though Paul had more to recount from the history of God among His people; it is to arrive at David that past history has been recited – with him in place, Paul can move to David’s completion, Jesus. The homily must be looked at as a rhetorical piece; thus, the words of DUNN, *Acts*, 180, are apt: The reference to Jesus, the promised Savior and offspring of David “enables the direct leap to Jesus 13.23... The flow of thought is ready for an immediate shift to verses 32-33”. Cf. C. TALBERT, *Reading Acts* (New York 1997) 130, “In vv. 17-23 the focus is on Jesus as the one in whom salvation history culminates”. Indeed, rhetorically all the past works of God lead, and thus are linked to the eventual offer of salvation, i.e., forgiveness and justification, through the Savior. Yet, the true link between God’s prior works and His present work is not the raising of Jesus from the dead, but the offer of salvation to diaspora Jews through Jesus; without this interpretation, one has great difficulties explaining, for instance, the relationship between vv. 34b and 35 – cf. I.H. MARSHALL, *Acts* (TNTC; Grand Rapids 1980) 227-228 and n. 1.

⁽²⁰⁾ Paul ends his homily with a warning, drawn from the prophet Habakkuk (1,5 LXX), not to ignore the ‘work’ God is doing now. HAENCHEN, *Apostelgeschichte*, 397, prefers to define this ‘work’: “die Annahme der Heiden unter Verwerfung der Juden”. The ‘Verwerfung der Juden’ seems not to be the best understanding of the usefulness of Habakkuk as a closing to Paul’s homily; rejection of God’s ‘work’ in Jesus seems a better understanding.

Nazareth⁽²¹⁾, this Jesus is the one through whom the Jews of Antioch will receive divine forgiveness of their sins, the one in whom the person who believes in him will be made⁽²²⁾ just by God⁽²³⁾. Therein lie the comfort (forgiveness, justification)⁽²⁴⁾ and exhortation (call to belief) of Paul's words. This Jesus, explained by an adroit reading of the Jewish prophets and psalms⁽²⁵⁾, is the one who, having been raised from the dead, as many can attest, knows no corruption and so, means to end, is able to provide for every generation the holy blessings entrusted to David for Israel⁽²⁶⁾.

(21) One is struck by the precision (within certain limits) by which Paul gives 'the inhabitants of Jerusalem' a role in the death of Jesus. Not only are the Jews of Antioch not responsible for this death, but neither are other Jews of Palestine responsible for it, nor are all the inhabitants of Jerusalem. If Luke means to say "all the inhabitants of Jerusalem", his manner of writing would not have included ἐν.

(22) I understand δικαίω to follow the usual sense of verbs ending in -οω; that is, they indicate 'causation' – in this case, one 'is made' just. Yet, cf. F. BLASS – A. DEBRUNNER – R. FUNK, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Christian Literature* (Chicago 1961) 83, §148(4). One might understand the verb in solely a forensic sense, were one not to see it as more than parallelism with ἀφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν καταγγέλλεται (v. 38).

(23) As God is blessed for raising up a 'horn of salvation' in order that God's people can live 'in holiness and justice', so Jesus is raised up so that God's people can have forgiveness and justification.

(24) TALBERT, *Acts*, 131, notes that "...forgiveness of sins and justification are juxtaposed as synonyms", and he asks his reader to confirm this by looking at Rom 4,1-8. Yet, Paul, in Rom 4,25, makes a very clear distinction between "...handed over to death for our sins" and "...raised up for our justification".

(25) G. SCHNEIDER, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (HThK; Freiburg 1982) II, 137, notes that "Der erste ὅτι-Satz (V 34a) ist in dem zweiten, der das Zitat aus Jes 55,3 LLX einleitet, begründet"; cf. also R. PESCH, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (EKK; Zürich 1966) II, 29. And there is no doubt that Paul's middle citation hinges in part on the essential clarification of γεγέννηκα, a clarification that occurs only by reference to the full task of the incorruptible, holy one. Resurrection from the dead is not the full message of Paul to diaspora Judaism. By this essential linking of all three Old Testament texts and his own argumentation, Paul shows that the promise is more than the resurrection of Jesus; the promise includes the purpose for which Jesus was raised – the resurrection serves as means to end.

(26) "Does Scripture itself legitimate the reader's looking to another after David who would be the recipient of the promises?", JOHNSON, *Acts*, 238. The answer, of course, is in how one reads what Scripture says, and Paul shows how to read what it says. Cf. ROSSÉ, *Atti*, 516, "La promessa fatta a Davide (v. 23, cf. 2 Sam 7) trova dunque il suo pieno e definitivo compimento per noi, suoi discendenti"; thus, the fulness of salvation, which is the point of great comfort in this speech, is the forgiveness and justification that the Risen One can offer to every generation.

Moreover, not only is he qualified to give every generation what David himself cannot give because he has corrupted, as though resurrection from the dead is all that is needed to bestow upon Israel the ‘holy and sure blessings’; he is preeminently qualified, as the Scriptures indicate, because Jesus is My Son, he is the Holy One, the Savior, profoundly and uniquely⁽²⁷⁾ qualified to bestow on Israel the holy blessings entrusted for her to David⁽²⁸⁾.

Yes, the discourse is a very Jewish, ‘in-house’ homily, both in its thoughts about God’s goodness to Israel and in its manner of offering assurance and conviction, consolation and exhortation⁽²⁹⁾ to belief in Jesus.

2. On the other hand, there is, amidst all this ‘jewishness’, an opening to others. At the conclusion to the homily, Paul proclaims that the one who will be justified in ‘him’ will be *πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων* (v. 39). One can rightly point out that the extension of the adjective *πᾶς* includes all Jews and Godfearers, especially those who hear Paul’s homily this day.

Yet, as elsewhere in Luke’s writing, the inclusive sense of *πᾶς* (and its equivalents) embraces more than persons than one might immediately expect; in this way, the ‘all’ or ‘every’ carries a proleptic sense, to be explicated later in the Lucan story. Consider, for instance, the citation Luke uses to explain the activity of John the Baptist, a citation he consciously lengthens (over Mark) to include this final phrase: *καὶ ὁψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Luke 3,6). An appropriate, but early understanding of this phrase is that all Israel will see the salvation of God. Yet, one sees in the phrase the reality that will unfold, as, going beyond the world of John, God will let ‘all beings’ see the salvation which is Jesus.

⁽²⁷⁾ The uniqueness of Jesus, in a Jewish synagogue setting, is understandably to follow upon the fact that no one else qualifies to perform the task entrusted to him by God.

⁽²⁸⁾ R.F. O’TOOLE, “Christ’s Resurrection in Acts”, *Bib* 60 (1979) 361-372, presents quite a different perception about the promise fulfilled ‘for the children’, namely that Jesus the Savior, by his resurrection, ensures our resurrection.

⁽²⁹⁾ Cf. R. TANNEHILL, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis 1990) II, 167, n. 11: “Verses 23, 32, 33a formulate the *Leitgedanken* of the speech, as indicated by Matthäus Buss, *Missionspredigt*, 29”. One cannot argue with the thesis that the *ἐπαγγελία* of v. 23 is proleptic to *ἐπαγγελία* of vv. 32.33a; but I do not think that the ‘promise’ is ‘the coming of the Messiah’ (cf. TANNEHILL, *Luke-Acts*, 167). The promise is the ‘holy things entrusted to David’ and now available both because of the unending life of the risen Jesus and because of who he is: My Son, the Holy One.

Again, in the Pentecost discourse, Peter crowns his presentation with the proclamation that Jesus is Messiah and Lord; Peter, in this context, asks that the entire house of *Israel* acknowledge the truth of this statement. But to Cornelius, Peter will present a Jesus who is πάντων κύριος (Acts 10,36). Peter goes to no particular lengths to prove this lordship over all people; one is forced to go back to the Pentecost speech in order to grasp fully the reasonableness of this claim, and of the claim as well that Jesus will be κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν (Acts 10,42; cf. 17,31).

Again, one may point to the angelic words ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας (Luke 2,14) and to Simeon's words, that Jesus will be a sign of contradiction ...ὅπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί (Luke 2,35) — examples of descriptions which fit the moment, but which anticipate, in proleptic fashion, the history Luke will later recount in Acts.

If, then, the Antioch pagans of Acts 13 are attracted to 'hear the word of the Lord', and the concrete expression of this word is, as offered by Luke, the synagogue homily of Paul, then it seems best to say that what attracted the pagans from that homily was at the very least the assurance, contained at the end of that homily: πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων δικαιούται. The phrase only gives the condition on which happiness can be had by pagans, but it is a statement which encourages the pagans to accept the blessings Jesus, and only Jesus, can bestow.

Luke is not concerned here to spell out more exactly how pagans can relate to forgiveness and justification — terms which make eminent good sense to Jews and Godfearers, but make us wonder about their attractiveness to pagans. A problem of logic and coherence as that may be, the concern of the author is not to dwell on pagan entrance into the Jewish religion; Luke is concerned with the dangerous fact that certain Jews, now identified as οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, cannot abide the thought that pagans, not as Godfearers, but by virtue of 'faith alone', will enjoy the blessings entrusted to David for Israel.

VI. The Contextualization of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι

As noted earlier, since Jews appeared in the Antioch story with none of the significance we are to apply to 'the Jews', it seems clear that 'the Jews' does not embrace all Jews, and may even include like-thinking Godfearers; because they are related to pagans over a topic of religion, 'the Jews' is not an ethnic description, but a title of

religion⁽³⁰⁾. Can we get a purchase on these people? Can we perceive in their description at least an historical precedent which might explain them as reasonable in their ζήλος? Or are we to assume that they are simply stubborn, unreasonable people whose opposition to Paul has no merit and causes no hesitation?

VII. οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι defined by ζήλος

Given that the term ‘the Jews’ occurs at Antioch only in the context of zeal/jealousy at the offer of salvation to ‘the pagans’, it seems best to see the meaning of that term in the references to zeal/jealousy aroused by earlier Jewish confrontations with paganism.

There are a number of examples in the Old Testament of ζήλος, both divine (e.g., 2 K 19,31; Isa 9,6; 11,11; 37,32; Joel 2,18) and human (1 Sam 21,2; 2 Kings 10,16; Judith 9,4; Prov 23,17; Sirach 51,18). I note here particular examples of this zeal; that these examples are offered as heroic and to be imitated is certain.

The prophet Elijah described himself to the Lord, “ἐζήλωκα τῷ Κυρίῳ ...because the sons of Israel have abandoned You (1 Kings 19,10)...abandoned Your covenant” (19,14). The Book of ben Sirach clothed its memory of Elijah in this word τῷ ζήλῳ αὐτοῦ ὀλιγοποίησεν αὐτοῦς [Ephraim] (48,2).

One of the most famous examples is the ζήλος of Phinehas, who, in the Lord’s own words, “... has turned My anger from the Israelites by his zeal for My honor among them (ἐν τῷ ζηλώσάι μου τὸν ζήλον ἐν αὐτοῖς)” (Num 25,11.13). This jealousy for the Lord, turned to zeal for the Lord and against false idols, became legendary, as we read in Ps 106,30; Sir 45,23; 1 Macc 2,26.54; 4 Macc 18,12; more importantly, his example offered a model for the religious struggle against paganism as one nears the time of Christ, whether the struggle be in Palestine or in the enclaves scattered throughout the Mediterranean world of the pagans.

Indeed, in this latter historical moment⁽³¹⁾, the account of the freeing of Israel from Antiochus IV and his successors, ζήλος becomes a key word to describe the great ardor of Mattathias and his sons and followers, by which the Jewish religion was saved and defended from

⁽³⁰⁾ More fitting Luke’s mind than antisemitism is anti-Christianism.

⁽³¹⁾ One cannot help wonder if, given the appeal to history with which Paul’s homily begins, there is not on Luke’s part, at this juncture in the Antioch story, an appeal to the history of Israel’s defense of its religion — here signaled by ‘the Jews’.

pagan and even certain Jewish attack; consider: “Mattathias saw him (a Jew who had come forward to offer sacrifice to idols) και ἐζήλωσεν; his heart was moved and his just fury was aroused...ἐζήλωσεν τῷ νομῷ καθὼς Φινεες...and he shouted in a great voice in the city, ‘Πᾶς ὁ ζηλῶν τῷ νομῷ καὶ ἰστών διαθήκην ἐξελθέτω ὀπίσω μου’” (1 Macc 2,24-27). At the end of his life, Mattathias’ last words included those which are a refrain of his earlier shout, “And now children, ζηλώσατε τῷ νομῷ καὶ δότε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ διαθήκης πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ μνησθητε τὰ ἔργα τῶν πατέρων...” (1 Macc 2,50-51).

The concern of Mattathias is clear — to preserve the Law⁽³²⁾ and the Covenant of Yahweh, which the sinful, ignorant and insensitive meant to destroy. “They were joined by a group of Hasideans, valiant Israelites, all devout followers of the Law” (1 Macc 2,42). Most pertinent for our Antioch episode are the striking words, “They saved the Law from the hands of the Gentiles (καὶ ἀντελάβοντο τοῦ νόμου ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν)” (1 Macc 2,48).

Given the notable stories which recount the preservation of Israel’s instruments of identity, the Law and the Covenant and worship of the true God, against the attacks of τὰ ἔθνη, it seems reasonable to understand the ζήλος of Acts 13,45 as a description of those who are roused to ardor and jealousy as they see their religion threatened by the offer of those ‘holy things entrusted to David for Israel’ to the pagans⁽³³⁾. It is in this context that there stands forth, for all to see, ‘the Jews’, those Jews (and, possibly, Godfearers) who see, in this ‘gathering of the Gentiles to hear the word of the Lord’ in Antioch, the destruction of their religion.

I repeat, it is not that these Jews (now ‘the Jews’) deny the Gentiles approach to Yahweh; the welcome existence of the Godfearers attests to Jewish good will toward Gentiles. It is, however, unacceptable to hear it suggested that ‘everyone who believes (in Jesus) will be justified by God’. Not all Jews thought Paul and Barnabas wrong. Not all Jews who thought Paul and Barnabas wrong were filled with ζήλος; and often, Acts 13–14 notes, those who did think Paul and Barnabas were wrong had to be aroused by those who were characterized by ζήλος.

The great difference between Old Testament examples of Jewish zeal and this example of zeal at Acts 13,45 flows from authorial influence over the texts. The authors of the Old Testament knew

⁽³²⁾ Cf. in the later time of 2 Macc 4,2: (Onias)... ζηλωτὴν τῶν νόμων.

⁽³³⁾ The argument made here can also apply to that earlier story of Acts (5,17) which describes the High Priest and all those with him: ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου.

Jewish zeal to be right; Luke knows Jewish zeal to be wrong. Yet, if I am right about Old Testament influence, one cannot deny that ‘the Jews’ acted in accord with their insights and education, and thus acted ‘rightly’, with all the limitations that word should have in this context.

One of the most enduring aspects of the early preaching in the wider Mediterranean Basin was opposition to it from ‘the Jews’. While not belonging to this category of Jew⁽³⁴⁾, such Jews as Peter and his church in Jerusalem had to undergo a change of understanding which culminates in the decree of James in Jerusalem in regard to the Church of Antioch in Syria.

The ‘change of understanding’ was provoked by massive divine intrusion, both in the life of Cornelius (Acts 10,3-8.30-33) and in the life of Peter (Acts 10,11-16.19-23.44-48). Indeed, so thorough is the Lucan explanation of the full admission of Gentiles into Christianity that he dedicates his first 15 chapters to justifying the Church of the ‘80s AD; only after this thorough preparation does Paul give a full discourse to the pure pagan (Acts 17).

VIII. Conclusion

What Luke recounts, then, in Acts 13,44-45, is the conflict raised by the offer of salvation to the Gentiles⁽³⁵⁾. Better, he recounts the conflict raised by the offer of ‘the holy things entrusted to David for Israel’ to the pagans, which is concretely the forgiveness of sins and justification by God — if only they believe in him ‘through whom’ and ‘in whom’ these blessings will be bestowed. ‘The Jews’ is not an ethnic term; it is a religious term. It is not given lightly or with disdain; the author uses his words carefully, in the light of past Israelite history and devotion, to depict the intensity of conviction on the part of Jews

⁽³⁴⁾ Occasionally, Luke introduces his reader to Christians who exhibit the zeal and jealousy we find in ‘the Jews’ of Antioch. These are Christians, at times designated ‘Pharisees’; cf. Acts 11,2; 15,5 [cf. 15,1-2]; 20,30; especially 21,20-21 where we find again de description ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις πεπιστευκότων καὶ πάντες ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου ὑπάρχουσιν. All these notices form the same matrix as in Antioch: ‘the Jews’, ‘zeal/jealousy’, ‘the pagans’.

⁽³⁵⁾ “Der Anblick der Scharen erregt die Eifersucht der Juden; vorausgesetzt wird also, dass all diese Menschen sich dem christlichen und nicht dem jüdischen Glauben anschliessen wollen”, BUSS, *Missionspredigt*, 135; thereby does Buss explain “die Schmähungen der Juden richten sich mithin auf die christliche Heilslehre”, and so not because Paul and Barnabas offer to the pagans the heritage of the Jews.

inclined to hostile persecution for the sake of preserving their heritage. Luke is not ignorant of their strong convictions, but he is convinced that they were wrong and a source of extreme, but insuperable difficulty for the spread of the word of the Lord.

On the other hand, Luke shows, in his championing the Pauline theology of an earlier time, that this zeal and its consequent opposition and persecution made ever clearer the hand of God in history: first to the Jew, then to the Gentile. Acts 13 and 14 incorporate this theology as it explains ever more clearly the gracious willingness of God to grant first to Jew, then to the Gentiles 'the holy things entrusted to David for Israel'.

In reflecting on the sense of 'the word of the Lord', for which almost all the town gathered to here, I concluded that, short of any other explanation, the content of the 'word' is essentially what Paul preached in his homily in the synagogue of Antioch. This being the most likely case, one draws the further conclusion that the essence of what Christianity had to give to the pagans was the 'good news' (εὐαγγελιζόμεθα) or the 'promise' (ἐπαγγελία) assured to 'our fathers'. Ultimately, this is translated into 'the holy things', 'forgiveness of sins' and 'justification'. There need be no other preaching described here. Thus, what is thoroughly Jewish in content and form is to be understood to be what best fits the needs and desires of the pagans⁽³⁶⁾.

One might find this Lucan way of combining the messages to Jews and Gentiles strange. Yet, it follows the Lucan scheme: what Jesus, then the apostles preach is nothing more than what completes the hopes and promises of the Old Testament, what Paul preaches is essentially what Peter preaches⁽³⁷⁾, and what Peter (as well as the

⁽³⁶⁾ Certainly, Paul's (only) major discourse to the pagans puts great stress on the reality of the one and only God, Yahweh; at the very end, Jesus is mentioned, and with regard to his resurrection and judgeship of the world. Put that way, the speech is not, in form and content, what we have in Acts 13. Yet, as exegetes have argued, there is a definite Jewishness to the Athens speech, and there is insistence upon repentance and preparation for salvation — Christian and Jewish themes which are at the heart of most all speeches in Acts. In the long run, were the speech at Athens to run its fullest logical course, it may well have contained in itself much of what we find, expressed no more in the exegetical manner of synagogue homilies, in speeches of Acts given in Jewish contexts.

⁽³⁷⁾ An example of this unity in preaching is the repetition of Acts 3,17-18 with Acts 13,27, which offer ἄγνοια as the excuse for the death of Jesus and indicates that all this was a fulfillment of the divine plan; cf. HAENCHEN, *Apostelgeschichte*, 394, who prefers not to see in this matter the theology of "des wirklichen Petrus und des wirklichen Paulus".

Twelve) preaches is essentially what Jesus preaches. Thus, by his very manner of presentation, Luke makes clear that what the third generation hears and responds to is nothing more or less than the faithful re-statement of what Jesus had said. The theme of continuity of the contents of the preaching is of the greatest importance for Luke. In short, the Gentiles are asked to embrace the salvation Yahweh offers to His People, which is faith in Jesus, and the blessings promised to Abraham and his offspring will follow⁽³⁸⁾; it is this offer which ‘the Jews’ do not believe is ‘from Yahweh’, but it is what makes Paul a credible Christian Apostle to the Gentiles⁽³⁹⁾.

One might be hard put to say that Luke was a close associate of Paul, or that he was a travel companion of Paul; but whatever one considers to be their relationship, one has to admit that Luke has centered the Pauline and Jewish concern for forgiveness of sins and justification on faith (ὁ πιστεύων) in Jesus: it is he who believes who will be forgiven and considered just by God⁽⁴⁰⁾. By what is no longer said, i.e., one need be a physical descendant of Abraham to be justified—by the absence of that assertion in this speech, one understands what the Jews, particularly ‘the Jews’, understood Paul to offer to the Gentiles.

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SUMMARY

Throughout Acts 13–14 Luke brings to the reader’s knowledge opponents of Paul who are called “the Jews”. The present essay attempts to clarify the meaning of this short-hand identification of Paul’s Jewish opponents. It seems best to understand these particular Jews in the light of zealotry which has its roots in centuries of vigorous defense of Jewish religious convictions.

⁽³⁸⁾ Cf. Rom 4,11-12.16b.

⁽³⁹⁾ Cf. ...ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν (Gal 2,9); from Paul’s Letter to the Galatians, it seems clear that he thought he was to preach essentially what Peter would preach to ‘the Circumcision’.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Cf. Paul’s statement, εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ σπέρμα ἐστε κατ’ ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι (Gal 3,29).

The Rhetoric of the Characterization of Jesus as the Son of Man and Christ in Mark

I. The Semantic and Narrative Rhetoric of Characterization

The semantic rhetoric becomes apparent whenever the narration cultivates specialized connotations for particular vocabulary used in characterization⁽¹⁾. For example, although discuss (διαλογίζομαι) may connote a positive, negative, or neutral action in general Koine usage, the narration of Mark realizes only the verb's negative potential by repeatedly contrasting those who discuss and the topic of discussion with Jesus and his teachings and actions⁽²⁾. Thus, the scribes discussing that Jesus is blaspheming (2,6.8a.8b) are countered by Jesus' statements and action (2,8-12); the disciples discussing that they have no bread (8,16; cf. 8,10) are depicted by Jesus as lacking understanding and having a hardened heart (8,17); the disciples (cf. 9,31) discussing who is greatest (9,33-34) are corrected in Jesus' teaching to the twelve about being last and servant of all (9,35); and the chief priests, scribes, and elders discussing the origins of John's baptism (11,31; cf. 11,27) are revealed as lacking faith and fearing the crowd (11,31-32) that esteems Jesus (11,18)⁽³⁾.

(1) This study's focus on the rhetoric of characterization precludes a direct address of the possible role of the Son of Man in proposing a corrective christology for Mark: cf. T. WEEDEN, *Mark. Traditions in Conflict* (Philadelphia 1971); and N. PERRIN, "The Christology of Mark: A Study in Methodology", *JR* 51 (1971) 173-187. The study does, however, identify particular rhetorical emphases of the characterization of the Christ that may contribute to this discussion.

(2) G. SCHRENK, "διαλογίζομαι", *TDNT* II, 95-96. Various other contributions of repetition to narrative development receive attention in N.R. LEROUX, "Repetition, Progression, and Persuasion in Scripture", *Neotest.* 29.1 (1995) 8-10, B.M.F. VAN IERSEL, "Locality, Structure, and Meaning in Mark", *LB* 55 (1983) 45-54, P.J. RABINOWITZ, *Before Reading. Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation* (Ithaca 1987) 53, D. RHOADS – D. MICHIE, *Mark as Story. An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel* (Philadelphia 1982) 46-47, M. STERNBERG, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative. Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington, IN 1985) 365-440, and R.C. TANNEHILL, *The Sword of His Mouth* (Philadelphia 1975) 39-51.

(3) P. DANOVE, "The Narrative Rhetoric of Mark's Ambiguous Characterization of the Disciples", *JSNT* 70 (1998) 30, presents further observations concerning this verb's contribution to characterization in Mark.

More detailed developments become possible when the same vocabulary repeatedly occurs within the same narrative contexts as in the contextual repetition and linkage of twelve (δώδεκα), send (ἀποστέλλω), proclaim (κηρύσσω), and cast out demons (δαιμόνια ἐκβάλλω) within 3,13-19 and 6,6b-13⁽⁴⁾. Two or more repeated contexts also may appear in the same structured sequence as in the structural repetition and linkage of passion and resurrection predictions concerning the Son of Man (8,31-32a; 9,30-32; 10,32-34), controversies involving disciples of Jesus (8,32b-33; 9,33-34; 10,35-41), and teachings by Jesus (8,34-9,1; 9,35-41; 10,42-45)⁽⁵⁾.

Cultivation of specialized connotations for vocabulary through verbal, contextual, and structural repetition is explained in terms of the evocation and modification of semantic frames that make available to interpreters (1) information about the words accommodated by the frame, (2) relationships among these words and references to other frames containing them, (3) perspectives for evaluating the function of the words, and (4) expectations concerning the content of communication⁽⁶⁾. In the example of “discuss”, its initial occurrence (2,6) evokes pre-existing information, relationships, and perspectives for evaluation but realizes only specific content and the potential for the verb’s negative interpretation. Repetition then realizes further information, relates this information, imposes negative evaluations on both those who discuss and the topic of discussion, and eventually cultivates an expectation for the continuing use of this negative connotation⁽⁷⁾. Repeated contexts and structures progressively

⁽⁴⁾ Contextual repetition receives development in R. ALTER, *The Pleasures of Reading in an Ideological Age* (New York 1989) 39, who discusses how the near conjunction of the words, “womb”, “darkness”, “light”, and “hedge”, in Job 38 evokes the scene of Job 3 where these words similarly were joined to produce a certain effect.

⁽⁵⁾ Narrative units used in this study are similar to those proposed by M.A. TOLBERT, *Sowing the Gospel*. Mark’s World in Literary-Historical Perspective (Minneapolis 1989) 312-313, and B.M.F. VAN IERSEL, *Mark. A Reader-Response Commentary* (trans. W.H. Bisscherooux) (JSNT.S 164; Sheffield 1998) 278-338.

⁽⁶⁾ C.J. FILLMORE, “The Need for Frame Semantics Within Linguistics”, *Statistical Methods in Linguistics* (1976) 5-29; cf. T. VAN DIJK, “Semantic Macro-Structures and Knowledge Frames in Discourse Comprehension”, *Cognitive Processes in Comprehension* (eds. M.A. JUST – P.A. CARPENTER) (Hillsdale, NY 1977) 3-32.

⁽⁷⁾ The number of repetitions required to cultivate this expectation depends in large part on the interpreter’s pre-existing familiarity with and understanding of stories in which the verb appears.

augment this potential for specialized development by relating the semantic frames evoked by different words and realizing for them the same information, relationships, evaluations, and expectations. Thus, repetition functions rhetorically whenever it cultivates content for semantic frames redundantly along specific lines.

Repeated vocabulary, contexts, and structures also cultivate content that cannot be explained in terms of semantic frames. For example, recognition that the prediction — controversy — teaching sequence of 8,31–9,1 is being repeated in 9,30–41 indicates that the narration of 8,31–9,1 has cultivated an abstract conceptual model of this structured sequence and its parts, relationships among the parts, and perspectives for evaluating their content. The narration of 9,30–41 also has the potential to cultivate an expectation that, should another prediction appear (as in 10,32–34), it will be followed by a further controversy and teaching (as in 10,35–45). Again, formulation of a coherent portrait of a character, such as the Son of Man, presumes an integrative framework that makes available to interpreters a synthetic organization of the vast array of information about the Son of Man, that identifies this character with Jesus and relates this character to other characters in specific ways, evaluates this character positively, and presents expectations for his characterization along specific lines.

Cultivation of such abstract and synthetic content is explained in terms of the evocation and modification of narrative frames that accommodate narrative information, relationships, perspectives, and expectations in a manner that parallels the way the semantic frames accommodate semantic content⁽⁸⁾. The narrative frame, which may be evoked by any repeated context, structure, or character that can be abstracted from the narration, makes available to interpreters not only specifically narrative content but also the content of semantic frames evoked by the vocabulary that appears in contexts, structures, and characterization⁽⁹⁾.

⁽⁸⁾ The narrative frame receives development in M. PERRY, “Literary Dynamics: How the Order of a Text Creates Its Meaning”, *Poetics Today* 1.1–2 (1970) 35–64, 311–361, and U. ECO, *The Role of the Reader*. Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts (Bloomington, IN 1979) 20–21, 37. Words and phrases have only a potential to evoke semantic and narrative frames, and their actual evocation depends on a number of extrinsic and intrinsic factors. This study assumes that the frames that receive investigation would be evoked in a close reading of Mark.

⁽⁹⁾ The evocation of narrative frames receives consideration in ALTER, *Pleasures of Reading*, 112–132. Particular words and phrases that receive extended and specialized narrative development, such as reign of God (βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ), also may evoke narrative frames.

The distinction between the pre-existent content of semantic and narrative frames that are initially evoked by the narration and the content of semantic and narrative frames cultivated by the narration permits a distinction of two constructs of the implied reader, the authorial audience and the narrative audience⁽¹⁰⁾. The authorial audience is the construct of the implied reader for which the pre-existent content of semantic and narrative frames or, hereafter, pre-existing beliefs is evoked; and the narrative audience is the construct of the implied reader for which the cultivated content of semantic and narrative frames or cultivated beliefs is evoked⁽¹¹⁾. As such, the authorial audience is characterized by the pre-existing beliefs evoked by the narration; and the narrative audience is characterized by the beliefs cultivated by the narration⁽¹²⁾.

Repetition functions rhetorically when it cultivates beliefs for the narrative audience either by developing or by undercutting elements of pre-existing or previously cultivated beliefs. In this study, repetition that cultivates beliefs that cohere with pre-existing or previously cultivated beliefs is deemed a sophisticating rhetorical strategy; repetition that cultivates beliefs that contradict pre-existing or previously cultivated beliefs is deemed a deconstructive rhetorical

⁽¹⁰⁾ The original proposal of these two audiences appears in P.J. RABINOWITZ, "Truth in Fiction: A Reexamination of Audiences", *Critical Inquiry* 4 (1974) 121-141. Rabinowitz's treatment of a third construct of the implied reader, the ideal narrative audience, which arises in the context of unreliable narration (127-128), is omitted; for there is significant consensus that the narrator of Mark is reliable: cf. R.C. TANNEHILL, "Disciples in Mark: The Function of a Narrative Role", *JR* 57 (1977) 386-405; N. PETERSEN, "'Point of View' in Mark's Narrative", *Semeia* 12 (1978) 97-121; R. FOWLER, *Loaves and Fishes. The Function of the Feeding Stories in the Gospel of Mark* (SBLDS 54; Chico, CA 1981), 229; and RHOADS – MICHIE, *Mark as Story*, 39.

⁽¹¹⁾ M. BAL, "The Laughing Mice or: On Focalization", *Poetics Today* 2.2 (1981) 209-210, notes that "the implied author...is not a pragmatic but a semantic category...which we construct from the semantic content of the text". Bal's use of "semantic" incorporates elements which this discussion attributes to the narrative rhetoric. Discussion of the authorial audience's pre-existing beliefs appear in E. BEST, "Mark's Readers: A Profile", *The Four Gospels* (eds. F. Van SEGBROECK et. al.) (Leuven 1992) II, 839-855; and B.M.F. VAN IERSEL, "The Reader of Mark as Operator of a System of Connotations", *Semeia* 48 (1989) 83-114. Their significance for interpretation is developed in W.C. BOOTH, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago 1983) 157, 177, and in ECO, *Role of the Reader*, 7-8.

⁽¹²⁾ The proposed description of the authorial and narrative audiences relies solely on the content of the semantic and narrative frames evoked or cultivated by the narration and does not require recourse to particular historical presuppositions or appeals to authorial intent.

strategy; and repetition that does not cultivate beliefs along specific lines is deemed a neutral rhetorical strategy⁽¹³⁾.

Distinguishing between sophisticating and deconstructive repetition is straightforward when cultivated beliefs either cohere with previously clarified beliefs (sophisticating) or directly contradict previously clarified beliefs (deconstructive). When repetition cultivates content for pre-existing narrative frames whose content has not received prior clarification, however, the study makes recourse to the native characteristics of semantic and narrative frames to assist in distinguishing between strategies. Since frames are inherently resistant to modification, this resistance is assumed to be relatively greater when cultivating content that contradicts pre-existing or previously cultivated beliefs than it is when cultivating coherent content⁽¹⁴⁾. Thus, familiarity with pre-existing content would permit the sophisticating repetition of coherent content without previous narrative preparation or explanatory warrants. The greater resistance to contradictory content, however, would require that deconstructive repetition receive some narrative preparation to establish a convivial context for its introduction and warrants to ensure its viability. Finally, deconstructive repetition may be introduced “covertly” by cultivating content for one narrative frame and then repeatedly relating this narrative frame to another for which the cultivated content is contradictory.

II. Pre-existing Beliefs about Jesus as Christ and Son of Man

The narration presents no indication that deconstructive repetition cultivates beliefs directly about Jesus. Although deconstructive repetition cultivates beliefs about the Son of Man and Christ, such repetition never impacts their first occurrence. Thus, an examination of their first occurrence and of subsequent occurrences that appear in the context of straightforward narration permits a clarification of pre-existing beliefs about the Son of Man and the Christ.

⁽¹³⁾ For example, the repetition of particular common verbs of motion, go (πορεύομαι), enter (εἰσερχομαι), and depart (ἐξέρχομαι), which cultivates no coherent group of agents of the actions, no consistent relationships among them, no overarching perspective for evaluating these actions, and no narratively specific expectations for content, is deemed rhetorically neutral.

⁽¹⁴⁾ According to PERRY, “Literary Dynamics”, 37, “The frame serves as a guiding norm in the encounter with the text, as a negative defining principle, so that deviation from it becomes perceptible and requires motivation by another frame or principle”: cf. P.H. WINSTON, *Artificial Intelligence* (Reading, MA 1977) 180.

The initial coordination of Christ (Χριστός) and Son of God (υἱὸς θεοῦ) in 1,1 indicates pre-existing beliefs that identify both designations with Jesus and that recognize Jesus' positive relationship as the Christ with God⁽¹⁵⁾. The context (1,2-15) presents further assertions concerning Jesus' positive relationship with God: God spoke through God's prophet about Jesus (1,2); God sends before Jesus [God] God's messenger who will prepare Jesus' [God's] way (1,2 [cf. Mal 3,1]); God's way and paths are Jesus' (1,3 [cf. Isa 40,3]); Jesus will baptize with God's holy spirit (1,8); God rends the sky at Jesus' baptism (1,10); God's spirit descends onto Jesus (1,10); God's voice addresses Jesus (1,11); Jesus is God's beloved son with whom God is pleased (1,11); God's spirit drives Jesus into the desert (1,12); God's messengers serve Jesus (1,13); and Jesus proclaims God's gospel (1,14) and the fulfillment of the time for God's reign (1,15)⁽¹⁶⁾. The straightforward narration of these assertions without extended narrative preparation or warrants indicates either that the pre-existing content of the narrative frame evoked by Christ accommodates this content or that this content coheres with pre-existing beliefs about Jesus as the Christ.

The narration provides less access to pre-existing beliefs about the Son of Man (υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). Its initial occurrence (2,10) evokes pre-existing beliefs about the Son of Man's present exercise of divine prerogatives in forgiving sins on earth and his positive alignment with God who forgives sins (2,7; cf. Ps 103,3; Isa 43,25). Subsequent straightforward narration evokes pre-existing beliefs about the Son of Man's present exercise of divine prerogatives in regulating Sabbath practice (2,28) and his positive relationship with God who regulates Sabbath practice (ἐξέσταιν, 2,24) and about his parousaic identity and activity (8,38)⁽¹⁷⁾.

The fact that 1,1 bears the initial burden of asserting the narration's

⁽¹⁵⁾ B.M. METZGER, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart 1975) 73, reviews the textual witnesses to Son of God in 1,1. Contextual linkage of Christ (1,1) to Beloved Son (1,11) within 1,1-15 also may indicate pre-existing beliefs relating these designations.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Further development of these assertions appears in P. DANOVE, "The Narrative Rhetoric of Mark's Characterization of God", *NT XLIII* (2001) 12-30.

⁽¹⁷⁾ W. FOERSTER "ἐξέσταιν", *TDNT* II, 560-561, interprets the NT usage of this verb in terms of the demands of God's will. Potential pre-existing beliefs about the Son of Man receive development in J.J. COLLINS, "The Son of Man in First-Century Judaism", *NTS* 38 (1992) 448-466, and T.B. SLATER, "One Like a Son of Man in First-Century CE Judaism", *NTS* 41 (1995) 183-198.

reliability, that Christ is the first designation applied to Jesus in support of asserting this reliability, and that Christ evokes or at least coheres with such extensive pre-existing beliefs indicates that the narrative frame evoked by Christ makes available a nexus of information, relationships, perspectives, and expectations that is integral to the authorial audience's understanding of Jesus. In contrast, the limited pre-existing beliefs evoked about the Son of Man indicate that this narrative frame plays a more peripheral role in the authorial audience's pre-existing beliefs about Jesus. Finally, this investigation identifies no pre-existing beliefs that directly relate the designations, Christ and Son of Man.

III. The Characterization of the Christ

The direct cultivation of beliefs about the Christ is limited to verbal repetition of the designation and to one repeated context.

1. *Verbal Repetition*

Repetition of Christ (1,1; 8,29; 9,41; 12,35; 13,21; 14,61; 15,32) emphasizes the identity of Jesus as the Christ through apposition (1,1) and a statement (8,29) and question (14,61) that relate a pronoun referencing Jesus to Christ with the verb, be⁽¹⁸⁾. Since pre-existing beliefs recognize that Jesus is the Christ (1,1), this repetition is deemed a sophisticating rhetorical strategy.

2. *Contextual Repetition*

The repeated context, 8,27-30, 13,21-23, and 14,60-61, links say (λέγω, 8,29; 13,21; 14,61) and statements about the Christ by characters portrayed in opposition to Jesus: Peter (and the other disciples) whom Jesus rebukes (8,30); someone who is not to be believed (13,21); and the chief priest at the trial of Jesus (14,60). Repetition of this context is deemed a deconstructive rhetorical strategy for two reasons. First, although Peter's assertion that Jesus is the Christ (8,29) coheres with both the pre-existing beliefs evoked in 1,1 and the beliefs evoked or cultivated in 1,2-15, Jesus' apparent rejection of Peter's assertion indicates that these pre-existing and

⁽¹⁸⁾ Christ also is related to the designations, Son of God (1,1), Son / Lord of David (12,35 / 12,37), Son of the Blessed (14,61), and King of Israel (15,32).

previously cultivated beliefs are somehow deficient⁽¹⁹⁾. Second, Jesus' command not to believe when others identify someone as the Christ (13,21) and warning that false christs and false prophets will give signs and wonders to mislead the elect (13,22) indicate that pre-existing beliefs about the Christ are erroneous in that they accommodate deceptions about the identity of the Christ and permit the authorial audience to be misled⁽²⁰⁾.

IV. The Characterization of the Son of Man

The direct characterization of the Son of Man is most apparent in the verbal repetition of the designation, two repeated contexts, and one repeated structure.

1. *Verbal Repetition*

Son of Man appears fourteen times (2,10.28; 8,31.38; 9,9.12.31; 10,33.45; 13,26; 14,21a.21b.41.62). The first two occurrences evoke pre-existing beliefs about the Son of Man's present exercise of divine prerogatives and positive relationship with God in forgiving sins on earth (2,10) and regulating Sabbath practice (2,28). These occurrences do not present vocabulary that subsequently is repeated in relation to the Son of Man.

Repetition relates the remaining occurrences of Son of Man to particular vocabulary and cultivates beliefs in two distinct areas⁽²¹⁾. The first concerns the Son of Man's near future experience and activity in being handed over (παράδιδωμι, 9,31; 10,33a.33b; 14,21.41; cf. 3,19; 14,10.11.18.42.44; 15,1.10.15 for Jesus), suffering (πάσχω, 8,31; 9,12), being condemned (κατακρίνω, 10,33; 14,64), being killed

⁽¹⁹⁾ J.D. KINGSBURY, *Conflict in Mark*. Jesus, Authorities, Disciples (Minneapolis 1989) 43-45, provides further explication of these pre-existing and cultivated deficiencies in terms of Jesus' identity and destiny.

⁽²⁰⁾ R.M. FOWLER, *Let the Reader Understand*. Reader-Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark (Minneapolis, MN 1991), 85 notes that the apocalyptic discourse of Mark 13 is directed primarily "to Mark's extranarrative audience". H.M. HUMPHREY, *He Is Risen! A New Reading of Mark's Gospel* (New York 1992) 116-120, contributes a discussion of the function of the second person plural verb forms in Mark 13 and the manner in which these address Mark's community. Such direct addresses of the real audience are made through its narratively immanent representative, the authorial audience.

⁽²¹⁾ E.K. BROADHEAD, *Teaching with Authority*. Miracles and Christology in the Gospel of Mark (JSNT.S 74; Sheffield 1992) 213-215, reaches similar results through a narrative analysis of the Markan miracle stories.

(ἀποκτείνω, 8,31; 9,31a.31b; 10,34; cf. 14,1 for Jesus) or giving his life (δίδωμι τὴν ψυχὴν, 10,45), and rising (ἀνίστημι, 8,31; 9,9.31; 10,34), which are governed by divine necessity (δεῖ, 8,31; cf. 9,12 /14,21 for πῶς / καθὼς γέγραπται, “how / as is it written”). The Son of Man is identified with Jesus through παραδίδωμι and ἀποκτείνω for which both serve as referent of the verb’s patient argument (i.e., object in the active voice and subject in the passive)⁽²²⁾. The occurrence of δεῖ and later appeals to scripture cultivate beliefs that relate the Son of Man positively to God⁽²³⁾. Repetition also negatively relates the Son of Man to human beings (ἀποκτείνω, 9,31a.31b) and the chief priests and scribes (παραδίδωμι, 10,33; ἀποκτείνω, 10,34; κατακρίνω, 10,33)⁽²⁴⁾.

Although straightforward narration indicates pre-existing beliefs that Jesus is the Son of Man (2,10) and that Jesus was handed over (3,19) and killed (14,1; cf. 12,5-8), the repeated relationship of this content to the Son of Man is deemed a deconstructive rhetorical strategy for three reasons. First, the narrative rhetoric prepares for the initial statement of the Son of Man’s suffering, being killed, and rising by casting it as a response to Peter’s appropriate but apparently rejected designation of Jesus as the Christ (8,27-30; cf. 1,1). Second, the assertion of divine necessity (δεῖ, 8,31) as a warrant prior to the

⁽²²⁾ The same vocabulary relates other designations to Son of Man: the Teacher eats (14,14) with the one handing over (παραδίδωμι) the Son of Man (14,21); Jesus is addressed as Rabbi (14,45) by the one handing him over (14,44; cf. 9,31; 10,33a.33b; 14,21.41 for the Son of Man); and Jesus as Christ and Son of the Blessed is condemned (κατακρίνω) as deserving death (θάνατος, 14,64; cf. 10,33 for Son of Man).

⁽²³⁾ If God is the implied agent who hands over the Son of Man in 14,21, then repetition of παραδίδωμι without a narrated agent in 9,31 and 10,33 also may assert the Son of Man’s positive relationship with God: cf. E. LAVERDIERE, *The Beginning of the Gospel*. Introducing the Gospel According to Mark (Collegeville, MN 1999) II, 110, who deems all passive voice occurrences of παραδίδωμι to imply divine agency.

⁽²⁴⁾ Negatively related to the Son of Man on one occasion are the chief priests, scribes, and elders (ἀποκτείνω, 8,31), gentiles (ἀποκτείνω, 10,34; cf. 10,33), that human being (παραδίδωμι, 14,21), and the chief priests and the whole Sanhedrin (κατακρίνω, 14,64; cf. 14,55). The only other designation for Jesus that receives repeated linkage to particular vocabulary, King of the Jews (βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων), presents a parallel development through the repetition of crucify (σταυρῶ, 15,13.14.20.27) which identifies the King of the Jews and Jesus the Nazarene (16,6) with Jesus (15,15.24.25) and asserts the negative relationship of the King of the Jews with the agents of σταυρῶ, Pilate (15,13.14) and his soldiers (15,20.27). Cross (σταυρός, 15,32) links the Son of Man to the Christ and, through crucify (σταυρῶ), to the King of Israel.

statement of the Son of Man's near future experience and activity encourages acceptance of this content in a way that forestalls potential objection. Since the narration generally introduces some aspect of the content prior to δεῖ, the divergent Markan style of 8,31 suggests that the authorial audience is resistant to this content⁽²⁵⁾. Third, the noted content does not cohere with pre-existing beliefs that emphasize the Son of Man's present exercise of divine prerogatives and parousaic identity and activity⁽²⁶⁾. In contrast, repetition ensures that this contradictory content is central to the narrative audience's cultivated beliefs about the Son of Man.

The second area of development repeatedly relates the Son of Man as agent of come (ἔρχομαι) to content concerning his parousaic identity and activity. The Son of Man will come in the Father's glory with the holy angels (8,38; cf. Dan 7,13-14), in clouds with great power and glory, sending angels who gather his elect (13,26; cf. Dan 7,13-14), and with the clouds of heaven (14,62; cf. Dan 7,13). Repetition also relates this content to glory (δόξα, 8,38; 13,26), angels (ἄγγελοι, 8,38; 13,27), and clouds (νεφέλαι, 13,26; 14,62). Repetition positively relates the parousaic Son of Man to God who as Lord of the Vineyard similarly will come (ἔρχομαι, 12,9), at whose right the Son of Man will sit (14,62; cf. Ps 110,1), and in whose glory the Son of Man will come (8,38)⁽²⁷⁾. Evocation of scriptural precedents in each passage indicates that this repetition constitutes a sophisticating rhetorical strategy.

⁽²⁵⁾ Among the five remaining occurrences of δεῖ (9,11; 13,7.10.14; 14,31), four appear after the explicit (9,11; 13,10) or contextual (13,7.14) introduction of the content; and the fifth 14,31), which presents no explicit introduction of the content but does receive narrative preparation for this content (14,29), similarly relates Jesus (and Peter) to death (συναποθνήσκω):

	δεῖ	τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου...	(8,31)
Ἡλίαν	δεῖ	ἐλθεῖν πρῶτον;	(9,11)
[πολέμους καὶ ἀκοάς...]	δεῖ	γενέσθαι	(13,7)
εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη...	δεῖ	κηρυχθῆναι	(13,10)
[τὸ βδέλυγμα...ἐστηκότα]	δεῖ		(13,14)
	δέη	με συναποθανεῖν...	(14,31)

⁽²⁶⁾ E.J. PRYKE, *Redactional Style in the Marcan Gospel*. A Study of Syntax and Vocabulary as Guides to Redaction in Mark (Cambridge 1978) 17-22, attributes to Markan redaction all such statements (8,31; 9,12.31; 10,33-34.45; 14,21a.21b.41).

⁽²⁷⁾ The Son of Man / the Beloved Son are related through the repetition of heavens (14,62 / 1,11) and cloud (13,26; 14,62 / 9,7) and the Son of Man / the Son are related through the repetition of father (8,38 / 13,32; cf. 14,36 for Jesus).

2. Contextual Repetition

Cultivated beliefs about the Son of Man's near future experience and activity and his parousaic identity and activity receive further augmentation through distinct repeated contexts. The previously noted predictions (8,31-32a; 9,30-32; 10,32-34) relate the Son of Man (8,31; 9,31; 10,33), kill (ἀποκτείνω, 8,31; 9,31a.31b; 10,34), after three days (μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, 8,31; 9,31; 10,34), and rise (ἀνίσταμαι, 8,31; 9,31; 10,34). The initial occurrence of this context (8,31-32a) introduces this content that contradicts the authorial audience's pre-existing beliefs, relates this content to suffer (πάσχω, 8,31) and the divine necessity (δεῖ, 8,31), and specifies and evaluates negatively the elders, chief priests, and scribes as those who reject the Son of Man. The second prediction (9,30-32) introduces hand over (παράδιδωμι) and specifies that the Son of Man will be handed over into the hands of human beings who will kill him (9,31), relates παράδιδωμι to the previously noted vocabulary and human beings to the previously noted opponents, and evaluates these opponents negatively. The third prediction (10,32-34) repeats hand over (10,33a.33b), contributes condemn (κατακρίνω, 10,33), death (θάνατος, 10,33), ridicule (ἐμπαίζω, 10,34), spit on (ἐμπτύω, 10,34), and whip (μαστιγώω, 10,34), specifies the chief priests and scribes as those who hand over Jesus and condemn him to death (10,33) and the Gentiles as those who ridicule, spit on, whip, and kill him, relates this vocabulary to previous vocabulary and these opponents to previous opponents, and evaluates these opponents negatively. Since this repeated context progressively augments the contradictory content of 8,31-32a with coherent content in 9,30-32 and 10,32-34, repetition of this context is deemed a deconstructive rhetorical strategy.

The second repeated context, 8,38-9,1, 13,24-27, and 14,60-65 relates see (ὁράω, 9,1; 13,26; 14,62), Son of Man (8,38; 13,26; 14,62), come (ἔρχομαι, 8,38; 13,26; 14,62), and power (δύναμις, 9,1; 13,26, cf. 13,25 for "powers"; 14,62). The first relates glory (δόξα, 8,38), angels (ἄγγελοι, 8,38), and death (θάνατος, 9,1) to this content; the second repeats glory (13,26) and angels (13,27) and contributes clouds (νεφέλαι, 13,26) and heaven / sky (οὐρανός, 13,27); and the third repeats clouds (14,62), heaven / sky (14,62), and death (14,64). Since straightforward references to the scriptures in each context indicate a pre-existing familiarity with this content, repetition of this context is deemed a sophisticating rhetorical strategy.

3. *Structural Repetition*

Structural repetition of 8,31–9,1, 9,30–41, and 10,32–45, links the repeated predictions (8,31–32a; 9,30–32; 10,32–34), controversies (8,32b–33; 9,33–34; 10,35–41), and teachings (8,34–9,1; 9,35–41; 10,42–45). This repeated structure relates cultivated beliefs about the Son of Man's near future experience and activity and his parousaic identity and activity in two ways. First, the initial and third teachings coordinate and relate statements about the Son of Man's parousaic identity and activity in coming in his father's glory with the holy angels (8,38) and his near future experience and activity in not being served but serving (δικονέω) and giving his life as a ransom for many (10,45). Second, the initial occurrence of this structure relates the Son of Man's near future experience and activity (prediction) to his parousaic identity and activity (teaching) in such a manner that the Son of Man who suffers, is rejected, is killed, and rises (8,31) is precisely the Son of Man who comes in his father's glory (8,38). Structural repetition then ensures that all of the progressively augmented contradictory content of the predictions is related to the parousaic identity and activity of the Son of Man. The fact that 8,38–9,1 constitutes the initial occurrence of 8,38–9,1, 13,24–27, and 14,60–65 also ensures that the totality of the contradictory content about the Son of Man's near future experience and activity is related to the totality of the sophisticated content about his parousaic identity and activity.

This repeated structure simultaneously cultivates beliefs concerning the relationship between the Son of Man and those who would be disciples of Jesus. The fulcrum of this development is Jesus' statement, "For whoever is ashamed of me and my words...the Son of Man will be ashamed of him when he comes in the glory of his father with the holy angels" (8,38). The structural linkage of the first prediction (8,31–32a), whose content contradicts pre-existing beliefs, to the first controversy (8,32b–33), which presents Peter's apparent rejection of this content, and their linkage to the first teaching (8,34–9,1) interprets the Son of Man's near future experience and activity as the content of Jesus' words and identifies Peter's rejection of this content as an instance of being ashamed of Jesus and his words. The first teaching also relates the coming of the Son of Man and the coming of God's reign (9,1) and interprets the Son of Man's being ashamed in terms of failing to see God's reign come in power. The linked beliefs concerning the Son of Man's near future experience and activity and his parousaic identity and activity constitutes a strong warrant for accepting the contradictory

content about the Son of Man; for only such acceptance establishes the potential to be a beneficiary of the Son of Man's parousaic identity and activity. The fact that Jesus' words also reference his "hard" teachings about discipleship (8,34-37) indicates that not being ashamed of Jesus and his words requires that one who wishes to be Jesus' disciple deny oneself, take up one's cross, and follow him (8,34) and relates saving life (8,35) to seeing the reign of God come in power (9,1). The second teaching contrasts the one who prevents another from casting out demons in Jesus' name with the one who gives a drink of water in Jesus' name because they are of Christ and who does not destroy one's reward (9,38-41)⁽²⁸⁾. The third contrasts the one who wants to become great or be first on the pattern of gentile rulers and great ones with the one who is great or first by being servant (διδάκονος) and slave on the pattern of the Son of Man who serves (διδάκονέω) and gives his life (10,43-45). By relating the disciple's required actions of losing one's life (8,37) and being servant and slave (10,43-44) to the Son of Man's necessary giving of his life and serving (10,45), this repeated structure clarifies that only accepting the contradictory content about the Son of Man and acting on it permit the disciple to become the beneficiary of the Son of Man's serving and giving his life as a ransom (10,45).

V. The Characterizations of the Christ and Son of Man

The structural repetition of 8,27-9,1, 13,21-27, and 14,60-65 links the repeated context that asserts that pre-existing beliefs about the Christ are deficient or erroneous (8,27-30; 13,21-23; 14,60-61) to the repeated context that sophisticates beliefs about the Son of Man's parousaic identity and activity (8,38-9,1; 13,24-27; 14,62-65), with the addition of 8,31-37 to 8,38-9,1. The initial occurrence of this structure links a recognition of deficiencies in the authorial audience's beliefs about the Christ both to the contradictory content about the Son of Man's near future experience and activity and to pre-existing content about his parousaic identity and activity. This linkage cultivates beliefs that recognize that acceptance of the newly related content about both the Christ and the Son of Man is required for one who would be a disciple of Jesus, save one's life, and become a potential beneficiary of the Son of Man's parousaic identity and activity.

⁽²⁸⁾ Consideration of the teachings' contrasts and their further development appear in N.F. SANTOS, "Jesus' Paradoxical Thinking in Mark 8:35; 9:35; and 10:43-44", *BSac* 157 (2000) 15-25.

The second occurrence (13,21-27) links a recognition that pre-existing beliefs that identify the Christ by signs and wonders are erroneous to sophisticated beliefs that identify the Christ by the parousaic Son of Man's glory and deeds. This linkage cultivates beliefs that recognize the implications of the parousaic Son of Man's actions and identity for the ultimate disposition of his elect (13,27). The second context also evokes 8,38-9,1 and, through its linkage to the former repeated structure, the totality of beliefs cultivated in 8,31-9,1, 9,30-41, and 10,32-45 and links these beliefs to the Christ.

The third occurrence (14,60-65) links Jesus as Christ and Son of the Blessed (14,61) to Jesus' teachings about the Son of Man's parousaic identity and activity (14,62) and his near future (now present!) experience and activity in being condemned as worthy of death (14,64). The first context (14,60-61) concludes with the chief priest's ironic question whether Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the Blessed (14,61), which identifies the chief priest's beliefs about the Christ as erroneous. The second context (14,62-65), which begins with Jesus' response, 'I am' (14,62), grammatically introduces the Christ through the elliptically omitted predicate nominative; but no explicit assertion about the Christ is forthcoming. Instead, Jesus again narrates content about the parousaic Son of Man; and the chief priest and the whole sanhedrin (cf. 14,55) respond to Jesus as Christ, Son of the Blessed, and Son of Man by condemning him as worthy of death (14,64) and spitting on him (14,65). The latter vocabulary evokes and verifies the content of Jesus' third prediction (10,32-34); and 14,62-65 again evokes the totality of beliefs cultivated in 8,31-9,1, 9,30-41, and 10,32-45 and links these beliefs to the Christ.⁽²⁹⁾ This occurrence, which rounds out the contribution of content about the Son of Man to the Christ, cultivates beliefs that recognize that erroneous thinking about the Christ and Son of Man directly aligns one with the chief priest and the whole sanhedrin in the moment of their most harshly negative evaluation when they condemn Jesus as worthy of death.

This structure's three-fold linkage of Christ to teachings about the Son of Man is deemed a deconstructive rhetorical strategy. Deconstructive contextual repetition of the first context (8,27-30; 13,21-23; 14,60-61) identifies pre-existing and previously cultivated

⁽²⁹⁾ Repeated vocabulary also contributes to evocation of the former structure: Son of Man (8,31.38; 9,31; 10,33.45 / 14,62); see (9,1 / 14,62); come (8,38; 9,1 / 14,62); power (9,1 / 14,62); chief priest[s] (8,31; 10,33 / 14,60.61.63); condemn (10,33 / 14,64); death (10,33 / 14,64); and spit on (10,34 / 14,65).

beliefs about the Christ as deficient and, in some instances, erroneous. Although the contextual repetition of 8,38–9,1, 13,24–27, and 14,62–65 only sophisticates pre-existing beliefs about the Son of Man's parousaic identity and activity, the addition of 8,31–37 to 8,38–9,1 in the first occurrence links the parousaic Son of Man to the contradictory content cultivated in the former repeated structure. Thus, both linked contexts in their first occurrence assert content that contradicts the authorial audience's pre-existing beliefs. Subsequent occurrences of the second context then sophisticate beliefs about the parousaic Son of Man even as they evoke the former repeated structure's contradictory beliefs. Deconstructive repetition of this structure fills the void engendered by the repetition of its first context which establishes only that pre-existing beliefs about the Christ are either deficient or erroneous by relating contradictory and sophisticated beliefs about the Son of Man to the Christ.

VI. The Narrative Rhetoric of the Characterizations of the Christ and Son of Man

Within the narrative communication between the real author and the real audience of Mark, the authorial audience is the construct of the implied reader characterized by pre-existing beliefs assumed for the original real audience; and the narrative audience is the construct of the implied reader characterized by cultivated beliefs proposed by the narration. Since the narrative frames evoked by Christ and Son of Man are inherently resistant to the cultivation of the contradictory content about these characters, their characterizations have the potential to challenge the authorial (and real) audience's pre-existing beliefs and so the reliability of the narration to such a degree that this audience may be inclined to reject this content. The following discussion examines the manner in which the narrative rhetoric attempts to forestall rejection of contradictory content about the Son of Man and to accommodate the greater challenge posed by the cultivation of contradictory beliefs about the Christ.

1. The Narrative Rhetoric of the Characterization of the Son of Man

The initial statement concerning the Son of Man's necessary suffering, being rejected, being killed, and rising with the Son of Man as subject of these verbs directly assaults the authorial (and real) audience's pre-existing beliefs about the Son of Man. Introduction of

this content by δεῖ (8,31) forestalls its outright rejection through a warrant asserting divine necessity, and the narrative rhetoric then attempts to ensure its viability in five ways. First, the structural linkage of 8,31 and 8,38 identifies the Son of Man who suffers, is rejected, is killed, and rises with the Son of Man who comes in the glory of his Father and relates the contradictory content to pre-existing content in such a manner that rejection of the former requires rejection of the latter. Second, the initial occurrence of the structure indicates that rejecting the contradictory content aligns one with Satan and constitutes erroneous thinking (ᾠρονέω) that places one in opposition to Jesus (8,33). Third, the initial teaching asserts the potential for one who accepts this content to become beneficiary of the Son of Man's parousaic identity and activity and to see the reign of God come in power. Fourth, the initial teaching also combines appeals to the disciple's self interest in statements employing want (θέλω) with warnings about the consequences of rejecting this content: one wanting to be Jesus' disciple (8,34) and to save one's life (8,35) must accept this contradictory content; and one rejecting this content will lose one's life (8,35), and the Son of Man will be ashamed of that one when he comes (8,38). Fifth, subsequent teachings continue to combine appeals (θέλω, 9,35; 10,35.36) with warnings (9,39; 10,43) and to clarify potential benefits for one accepting this content (9,41; 10,45).

2. Reasserting the Reliability of the Narration

Even if the narrative rhetoric forestalls rejection of the contradictory content and ensures its viability, the authorial (and real) audience's resistance to the content of the former repeated structure (8,31–9,1; 9,30–41; 10,32–45) will undermine the narration's reliability to a significant degree. The narrative rhetoric then reasserts reliability through an almost exclusive reliance on the evocation of pre-existing beliefs and their sophistication with coherent content within Mark 11 and 12. This newly reasserted reliability then provides a convivial context for evocation and further development of contradictory content in later occurrences of the second repeated structure (13,21–27; 14,60–65).

3. The Narrative Rhetoric of the Characterization of the Christ

Whereas the narrative rhetoric introduces contradictory content about the Son of Man overtly by relating this designation to particular

vocabulary, cultivation of contradictory content about the Christ occurs only covertly by structurally linking the contexts in which this designation appears to developments concerning the Son of Man in other contexts. This covert linkage is grounded in the narration of 8,27-33 which links the context concerning the Christ (8,27-30) to developments concerning the Son of Man (8,31-33). The former context presents Jesus' question to the disciples, "But, who do you say that I am"? (8,29a) and Peter's response, "You are the Christ" (8,29b). Jesus' rebuke (ἐπιτιμάω) of Peter and the other disciples and order that they not speak to anyone about him (8,30) negatively evaluates the disciples and, especially, Peter by directly aligning them with unclean spirits (1,25; 3,12; cf. 9,25) and the wind (4,39) which previously were rebuked.

Jesus' transition to a statement about the Son of Man's necessary suffering, being rejected, being killed, and rising in 8,31 then frustrates the narrative audience's cultivated expectation that the disciples' negative evaluation in 8,30 will find its justification either within the preceding narrative context (8,27-29) or in an immediately following explanation⁽³⁰⁾. This frustration leaves the closure of 8,27-30 unresolved until such a justification is forthcoming. Peter's response with a rebuke (ἐπιτιμάω, 8,32) of Jesus imposes a very negative evaluation on Peter insofar as its assertion of Jesus' alignment with unclean spirits and the wind contradicts both pre-existing and previously cultivated beliefs about Jesus. Peter's response also recalls his previous negative evaluation in 8,30 and continues the suspension of the closure of 8,27-30. Jesus' rebuke (ἐπιτιμάω, 8,33) of Peter, which intensifies Peter's negative evaluation, receives explanation through the ὅτι (for) clause that identifies Peter's erroneous thinking as the cause of his negative evaluation. Repetition of ἐπιτιμάω with Jesus as agent in 8,30 and 8,33 and the focus on Peter in both contexts link Jesus' two rebukes and so resolve the narrative development of 8,27-30 by identifying erroneous thinking about the Christ as the cause of the negative evaluation of the disciples and Peter in 8,30. The delay of closure until 8,33, however, insinuates into the narrative frame evoked

⁽³⁰⁾ When offered by the narrator, these explanations generally appear in γάρ (for) clauses: cf. T.E. BOOMERSHINE – G.L. BARTHOLOMEW, "The Narrative Technique of Mark 16:8", *JBL* 100 (1981) 213-223; FOWLER, *Loaves and Fishes*, 157-175; and RHOADS – MICHIE, *Mark as Story*, 45-51. Negative evaluations explained through such clauses previously occurred in the portrayal of Jesus' disciples (6,50.52), the Pharisees or scribes (7,3), and Herod (6,17.18.20).

by Christ both the contradictory content about the Son of Man (8,31) and beliefs that recognize that one who rejects this contradictory content vilifies and is opposed to Jesus, is identified with Satan, and receives harshly negative evaluation (8,32b-33). Structural linkage of the first prediction and controversy to the first teaching and their subsequent repetition relates to the Christ the cultivated content discussed in the study of the former repeated structure. Subsequent occurrences of the second repeated structure then evoke its first occurrence and its precedent for insinuating the contradictory and sophisticated content about the Son of Man into the narrative frame evoked by Christ.

VII. The Narrative Function of the Characterizations of the Son of Man and Christ

Whereas pre-existing beliefs grant primacy to the designation, Christ, and a more peripheral status to the designation, Son of Man, the narrative rhetoric foregrounds the Son of Man's characterization. The narrative audience's extensive cultivated beliefs concerning the Son of Man incorporate and relate pre-existing beliefs about his present exercise of divine prerogatives, sophisticated beliefs about his parousaic identity and activity (verbal and contextual repetition), and contradictory beliefs about his near future experience and activity (verbal and contextual repetition). Deconstructive repetition of the former structure highlights, relates, and places under divine necessity the Son of Man's near future suffering, being killed and rising and his parousaic coming, negatively evaluates those who are ashamed of Jesus and his words, and reserves positive evaluation for those who accept these newly cultivated beliefs. Thus, the characterization of the Son of Man functions to encourage the rejection of the authorial (and real) audience's pre-existing beliefs about the Son of Man, which are deficient from the perspective of the narrative audience, and acceptance of the narrative audience's cultivated beliefs, which alone offer the prospect of seeing the reign of God come in power, of not destroying one's reward, and of being among the many for whom the Son of Man gives his life.

The more circumscribed characterization of the Christ, in contrast, explicitly cultivates for the narrative audience beliefs that recognize Jesus' identity as the Christ (verbal repetition) and the deficiency or error of the pre-existing beliefs on which this identification is based

(contextual repetition). Deconstructive repetition of the second structure insinuates both the contradictory and the sophisticated content about the Son of Man into the narrative frame evoked by Christ, directly aligns one not characterized by these newly cultivated beliefs about the Son of Man and Christ with Satan and with those who condemn Jesus as deserving death, and reserves positive evaluation for those who accept these newly cultivated beliefs⁽³¹⁾. Thus, the characterization of the Christ functions to encourage the rejection of the authorial (and real) audience's deficient and at times erroneous pre-existing beliefs about the Son of Man and the Christ and acceptance of the narrative audience's cultivated beliefs which alone ensure positive alignment with the Son of Man who will send angels to gather the elect (13,27).

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SUMMARY

This article investigates the semantic and narrative rhetoric of Mark's characterization of the Son of Man and the Christ and the contribution of the portrayal of the Son of Man to the portrayal of the Christ. An introductory discussion considers the role of repetition in characterization, the nature of semantic and narrative frames and their implications for describing the implied reader of Mark, and the rhetorical strategies apparent in characterization. The study of characterization investigates the manner in which the semantic and narrative rhetoric introduces and reinforces frequently discordant content concerning the Son of Man and Christ and then relates developments concerning the Son of Man to the Christ. The study concludes with a consideration of the narrative function of the characterizations of the Son of Man and Christ.

⁽³¹⁾ These considerations indicate that an adequate statement of Mark's christology will grant equal status to the contribution of both the contradictory content about the Son of Man's near future experience and activity and the sophisticated content about his parousaic identity and activity and recognize that the viability of the former content depends on its continuing linkage to the latter.

Spirit-Baptism in the Fourth Gospel A Messianic Reading of John 1,33

The concept of “Spirit-baptism” has been a contested issue for a long time — both in NT scholarship and in the church as a whole. Is “the baptism in the Holy Spirit” a “second blessing”, an empowerment for Christian service distinct from and subsequent to conversion (so, for example, classical Pentecostalism)⁽¹⁾? Or does it refer to (the high point in) conversion-initiation, that is, to becoming a Christian (so Dunn)⁽²⁾? The greatest efforts of NT scholarship concerning this topic have been put into the examination of the Synoptic material and Acts⁽³⁾. However, the concept also occurs in the Fourth Gospel — οὗτός [Jesus] ἐστὶν ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (1,33) — yet, it has hardly received attention from Johannine scholarship⁽⁴⁾. As a result, the meaning and significance of the concept of Jesus’ Spirit-baptism in this Gospel seem to have been overlooked. Hence, the aim of the present article is to elucidate the concept of Spirit-baptism and Jesus as the Spirit-Baptizer in the Fourth Gospel. Although the phrase ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ is a *hapax legomenon* in Johannine literature, we expect that the *concept* will be evoked and unfolded in the rest of the Fourth Gospel⁽⁵⁾. In this paper, I will attempt to

⁽¹⁾ This view is best defended by R.P. MENZIES, *Empowered for Witness*. The Spirit in Luke-Acts (JPTSS 6; Sheffield 1994) chap. 12.

⁽²⁾ J.D.G. DUNN, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*. A Re-examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in relation to Pentecostalism today (Philadelphia 1970).

⁽³⁾ E.g., R.L. WEBB, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*. A Socio-Historical Study (JSNTSS 62; Sheffield 1991) chap. 8; M. TURNER, *Power from on High*. The Spirit in Israel’s Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts (JPTSS 9; Sheffield 1996) chap. 7. For an overall, semi-popular treatment of the subject “Baptism in the Holy Spirit” in the NT, see C.S. KEENER, *3 Crucial Questions about the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids 1996) chap. 1; H.M. ERVIN, *Spirit-Baptism*. A Biblical Investigation (Peabody 1987); ID., *Conversion-Initiation and the Baptism in the Holy Spirit*. A critique of James D.G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (Peabody 1984); H.D. HUNTER, *Spirit-Baptism*. A Pentecostal Alternative (Lanham 1983). However, these works do not deal in detail with the contribution of the Fourth Gospel.

⁽⁴⁾ The only notable exception is F. PORSCH, *Pneuma und Wort*. Ein exegetischer Beitrag zur Pneumatologie des Johannesevangeliums (Frankfurt 1974) 42-51.

⁽⁵⁾ Either the Evangelist used material from a (written or oral) tradition he had access to without making any changes to it, or he interpreted it somehow. If the

demonstrate that the statement in 1,33 concerning Jesus' baptizing in or with Holy Spirit is programmatic for Jesus' ministry of revelation and cleansing by means of the Spirit.

We start by examining the phrase βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ and determining its basic meaning (I). Subsequently, we will investigate whether Judaism knew of this concept (II). We shall then return to the Fourth Gospel to elucidate how Jesus' Spirit-baptism is related to particular events or activities in his ministry (both before and after his departure) (III). Finally, we will attempt to establish a more precise meaning of the concept of "Spirit-baptism" in the Fourth Gospel (IV).

I. The Referent of βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ

The vast majority of scholars think 1,33 means that Jesus will give the Spirit to or bestow the Spirit on people⁽⁶⁾, but is this really what John the Baptist himself (or the Evangelist) would have implied or how a first-century Jew would have understood it? Turner argues that Judaism was probably not able to conceive of any messianic figure bestowing the eschatological Spirit on Israel, and therefore it is unlikely that John the Baptist himself (or any first-century Jew for that matter) would have thought about it⁽⁷⁾. Judaism naturally understood the

Evangelist used the Baptist tradition and was able to reinterpret the Baptist's ministry rather radically — its purpose being to reveal the identity of the Messiah to Israel (1,31) — then the Evangelist could equally also have reinterpreted the Baptist's prophecy concerning Jesus' baptizing in/with the Holy Spirit and unfolded it in the rest of the Gospel using other images (cf. PORSCH, *Pneuma*, 49-50).

(⁶) E.g., P. VAN IMSCHOOT, "Baptême d'Eau et Baptême d'Esprit Saint", *ETL* 13 (1936) 666; R.E. BROWN, *The Gospel according to John*. Introduction, Translation, and Notes (AB 29; London 1971) I, 66; PORSCH, *Pneuma*, 48, 51; C.K. BARRETT, *The Gospel according to St. John*. An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text (London ²1978) 178; G.M. BURGE, *The Anointed Community*. The Holy Spirit in the Johannine Tradition (Grand Rapids 1987) 40, 55; B. WITHERINGTON III, *John's Wisdom*. A Commentary on the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge 1995) 67; H.N. RIDDERBOS, *The Gospel according to John*. A Theological Commentary (Grand Rapids 1997) 76; C.S. KEENER, *The Spirit in the Gospels and Acts*. Divine Purity and Power (Peabody 1997) 138.

(⁷) TURNER, *Power*, 179-180; cf. E. BEST, "Spirit-Baptism", *NT* 4 (1960-1961) 236; B. LINDARS, *The Gospel of John* (NCB; London 1972) 111; M.E. ISAACS, *The Concept of Spirit*. A Study of Pneuma in Hellenistic Judaism and its Bearing on the New Testament (Huddersfield 1976) 115; WEBB, *John*, 233; MENZIES, *Witness*, 67. Dunn, however, thinks some possible support from the Qumran scrolls exists for a possible view that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* spoke of a Messiah pouring out the Spirit, and although Dunn admits that "the evidence for this conclusion is so slight that it would be foolish to build on it", he nevertheless

eschatological giving or outpouring of the Spirit to be an act of God himself (Isa 32,15; 44,3; Ezek 36,26-27; 39,29; Joel 2,28; Zech 12,10). It is much more likely then that βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ refers to the *effect on* Israel of the coming of the Messiah mightily endowed with the Spirit, than that it anticipates Jesus *giving* the Spirit *to* Israel⁽⁸⁾.

In order to understand what the phrase βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ refers to, it is necessary to determine what kind of language the Evangelist is using. Unlike John the Baptist's baptism in or with water, the baptism with which Jesus will baptize should be understood metaphorically. A literal interpretation (someone being immersed literally in the liquid medium of Spirit) is absurd, and hence invites or points to a metaphorical interpretation⁽⁹⁾. Moreover, if metaphorical language is used, what correspondence with reality is intended⁽¹⁰⁾? What is the point of contact, for example, between Jesus' metaphorical Spirit-baptism and the Baptist's literal water-baptism? How are the two baptisms similar and dissimilar? Some basic linguistic insights may assist in answering these questions.

The obvious starting point for comparing the two baptisms is to investigate the meaning of the verb βαπτίζω. The use of βαπτίζω in John's baptism (1,26.33) is literal, meaning "to dip" or "to immerse", whereas in Jesus' baptism βαπτίζω is used metaphorically⁽¹¹⁾. We shall elucidate the main explanations of interpreting βαπτίζω metaphorically, as given by Dunn, Marshall and Turner⁽¹²⁾. Dunn proposes an imagery of

thinks it would have been only a tiny step for John the Baptist to arrive at this concept (J.D.G. DUNN, "Spirit-And-Fire Baptism", *NT* 14 [1972] 89-92). However, perhaps it would have been more probable that the Evangelist rather than the Baptist had made this "tiny" step towards a concept of the Messiah giving/bestowing the Spirit, but this has to be seen in the remainder of this paper.

⁽⁸⁾ TURNER, *Power*, 180.

⁽⁹⁾ Metaphors do *not* have two meanings, one literal and one metaphorical, but one meaning; the alternative is nonsense. A speaker usually has one intended meaning for an utterance — otherwise speech would be impossibly ambiguous (J.M. SOSKICE, *Metaphor and Religious Language* [Oxford 1985] 85-86).

⁽¹⁰⁾ For the referential relationship to reality of a metaphor, see P. RICOEUR, *The Rule of Metaphor*. Multi-disciplinary studies of the creation of meaning in language (London 1978) chap. 7 (esp. pp. 247-256).

⁽¹¹⁾ Βαπτίζω is an intensive form of βάπτω with the meaning "to dip, to immerse" (I.H. MARSHALL, "The meaning of the verb "to baptize", *EvQ* 45 [1973] 130-31; M.M.B. TURNER, "Spirit Endowment in Luke-Acts: Some Linguistic Considerations", *Vox Evangelica* 12 [1981] 50).

⁽¹²⁾ Although the interpretations of Dunn, Marshall and Turner are based on the Q-saying βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί (as found in Matt 3,11 and Luke 3,16), we merely examine how they have interpreted βαπτίζω.

being submerged in a river of Spirit, which would result in destruction for the unrepentant and salvation for the repentant⁽¹³⁾. However, an attempt to carry through the meaning of βαπτίζω in John's baptism into the Messiah's baptism will run into difficulties: in our pre-Christian sources the Spirit is never represented as a river or pool in which a person might be metaphorically immersed⁽¹⁴⁾. Marshall argues that βαπτίζω took on the metaphorical meaning of "to overwhelm with", "to drench in"⁽¹⁵⁾. Initially, Turner followed and developed Marshall's idea, and preferring "to deluge with" for βαπτίζω, he saw in the Spirit-baptism the concept of one single eschatological deluge of Spirit⁽¹⁶⁾. However, Turner later found some problems with this view: (i) the Messiah pouring out God's Spirit remains improbable; (ii) the transition from βαπτίζω used in a literal sense of "immerse" to a metaphorical sense with the different sense of "deluge with" is highly improbable; (iii) the Aramaic equivalent for βαπτίζω (ܠܒܠ), which the Baptist probably had used, simply meant "to dip, bath, wash (by immersing)", which would exclude the sense of "deluge with"⁽¹⁷⁾. Thus, an investigation of the meaning of the verb βαπτίζω in order to elucidate the concept of βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ has turned out to be a *cul-de-sac*.

We suggest then that the intended point of comparison between John's baptism and Jesus' baptism is not the mode of βαπτίζω, but the *purpose* for which the rite is performed⁽¹⁸⁾. For a first-century Jew, the Baptist's water-baptism would naturally evoke the concept of cleansing/purification of defilement: the use of water in Judaism referring to cleansing is widespread (e.g., Exod 29,4; 30,18-21; Lev 8,6;

⁽¹³⁾ DUNN, *Baptism*, 13-14; ID., "The Birth of a Metaphor — Baptized in Spirit (Part I)", *ExpTim* 89 (1978) 136.

⁽¹⁴⁾ MARSHALL, "Meaning", 132, 137. In a recent article, however, Dunn refers to Isa 30,27-28 to counteract such a criticism (J.D.G. DUNN, "'Baptized' as Metaphor", *Baptism, the New Testament and the Church*. Historical and Contemporary Studies in Honour of R.E.O. White [eds. S.E. PORTER – A.R. CROSS] [JSNTSS 171; Sheffield 1999] 304-305). However, it is unlikely that Isa 30,28 refers to the Spirit of the Lord because: (i) God's רוּחַ in Isa 30,28 is paralleled by or identified as God's נִשְׁמָה in Isa 30,33; (ii) two other texts (Job 4,9 and Ps 18,15) both provide a conceptual parallel to Isa 30,28.33, in that both passages denote God expressing anger or judgement, and they both use רוּחַ and נִשְׁמָה partially synonymously. Hence, God's רוּחַ is sometimes used to denote (the expression or utterance of) God's anger/wrath/judgement (cf. Exod 15,7-8).

⁽¹⁵⁾ MARSHALL, "Meaning", 137.

⁽¹⁶⁾ TURNER, "Endowment", 51. Cf. N. BAUMERT, *Charisma – Taufe – Geisttaufe* (Würzburg 2001) II, 82-83.

⁽¹⁷⁾ TURNER, *Power*, 182.

⁽¹⁸⁾ We are indebted to TURNER, *Power*, 183 for this insight.

14,5-9.49-52; 16,4.24; Num 8,7; 19,7-9.17; Ezek 36,25; Zech 13,1; 1QS 3,4-9; 4,21), and occasionally βαπτίζω is used in the LXX to denote this concept (2 Kgs 5,14; Sir 34,25; cf. Jdt 12,7-9)⁽¹⁹⁾. In the Fourth Gospel, however, John the Baptist is portrayed as an explicit witness to Jesus as the Messiah (1,6-8.15.19-37; 3,26-30), and even John's baptizing ministry has been subordinated to function merely as the means by which Jesus is revealed to John and, consequently, to Israel (1,29-34). Hence, the purpose of the Baptist's baptism, according to the Evangelist, is to *reveal* the identity of the Messiah/Spirit-Baptizer to Israel (1,31.33), and that through the Baptist's witness people may come to believe (that Jesus is the Messiah) (1,7). *Mutatis mutandis*, the purpose of Jesus' Spirit-baptism may be to *reveal* God (cf. 1,18) in order that people may believe, i.e., accept this revelation, and thus find life/salvation (1,12; 3,14-16.34-36; cf. 20,31). Nevertheless, although for the Evangelist the primary purpose of the Baptist's baptism is revelation, its aspect of *cleansing*, which is naturally evoked by βαπτίζω, has never completely disappeared: Jesus (or in fact his disciples, as 4,2 clarifies) baptized more disciples than the Baptist, which gave rise to a dispute about cleansing/purification (καθαρισμός) (3,22-26)⁽²⁰⁾. Moreover, water is a prominent symbol for cleansing/purification throughout the Fourth Gospel (2,6; 3,5; 4,10-14; 5,7; 7,38; 13,5-10; 19,34)⁽²¹⁾. Similarly, we may expect that Jesus' Spirit-baptism also contains a cleansing dimension. Consequently, we suggest that βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ refers to revelation and cleansing.

At the start of this section we suggested that βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ most likely refers to the effect on Israel of the coming of the Spirit-endowed Messiah rather than the Messiah bestowing the Spirit on Israel. In other words, rather than interpreting πνεῦμα as a gift, it seems more preferable to understand πνεῦμα as the *means* by which the Messiah will act towards Israel⁽²²⁾. In this case, ἐν should be taken

⁽¹⁹⁾ Cf. A. OEPKE, "Βάπτω, βαπτίζω", *TDNT* I, 536-538; WEBB, *John*, chap. 6; TURNER, *Power*, 183.

⁽²⁰⁾ Josephus also thought of John's baptism as purificatory (*Ant.* 18,117). Cf. WEBB, *John*, 89-91; G.R. BEASLEY-MURRAY, *John* (WBC 36; Milton Keynes 1991) 29.

⁽²¹⁾ Cf. L.P. JONES, *The Symbol of Water in the Gospel of John* (JSNTSS 145; Sheffield 1997).

⁽²²⁾ Cf. B.M.F. VAN IERSEL, "He will Baptize you with Holy Spirit (Mark 1,8): The time perspective of βαπτίσει", *Text and Testimony. Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A.F.J. Klijn* (eds. T. BAARDA *et al.*) (Kampen 1988) 135-136.

instrumentally, meaning “with” or “by means of”⁽²³⁾. Hence, the Spirit is expected to be the *means* by which Jesus will cleanse people and reveal God.

As a résumé, the most likely referents of the metaphor βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ are revelation and cleansing⁽²⁴⁾. Jesus’ Spirit-baptism refers to some sort of cleansing and is also linked with the revelation of God to people, and Jesus accomplishes this by means of the Spirit. People who accept Jesus’ revelation and cleansing find life/salvation, and hence Jesus’ Spirit-baptism has soteriological consequences. The point of correspondence between the Baptist’s baptism with water and Jesus’ baptism with Holy Spirit then is not the mode or medium of baptism but their purpose, namely revelation and cleansing. Nevertheless, the two baptisms are contrasted by virtue of the two baptizers being contrasted: the Baptist denies being the expected eschatological figure and subordinates himself to the Coming One (1,25-27; 3,22-36); the Baptist points his disciples to Jesus (1,35-37); the Baptist functions as a witness to Jesus (1,6-8). The contrast or dissimilarity between the two baptisms lies particularly in their respective means and effects. The Baptist’s baptism is by means of water and Jesus’ baptism is by means of the Spirit, and although water-baptism effects cleansing it also points to the *greater cleansing* of Jesus’ Spirit-baptism. The implication of 3,22-36 is that if Jesus is greater than the Baptist then so are his baptism and ministry, which cleanses from sin (1,29; 13,10; 15,3)⁽²⁵⁾. Moreover, Jesus also provides a *greater revelation* (namely of God) than the Baptist, who “merely” revealed the identity of the Messiah.

The question that still needs to be answered, however, is precisely how the two aspects of revelation and cleansing function within the metaphor βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ and how the Spirit is related to this. However, before we will provide more substantial (exegetical) evidence from the Fourth Gospel itself in section III, we will first examine whether Judaism already “knew” this concept of Spirit-baptism.

⁽²³⁾ Cf. BAUMERT, *Charisma*, 82-84, 88.

⁽²⁴⁾ There is no semantic relationship between βαπτίζω and revelation (βαπτίζω does not denote or carry the *sense* “to reveal”); we merely suggest that the entire metaphor βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ *refers* (in the context of the Fourth Gospel) to revelation.

⁽²⁵⁾ Cf. Bultmann, who argues that the Baptist’s baptism could not have saving significance since the Baptist explicitly denies in 1,20-21 that he is the eschatological bringer of salvation (R. BULTMANN, *The Gospel of John*. A Commentary [Philadelphia 1971] 90).

II. A Conceptual Messianic Background of Jesus' Spirit-Baptism

Although the Fourth Evangelist (and the Synoptic writers) coined a new phrase for the concept of Jesus' role by means of the Spirit (the literal expression βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ is not known in Judaism), the *concept* of revelation and cleansing by means of the Spirit is present in Judaism. God providing revelation through his Spirit was prevalent in Judaism (e.g., 2 Sam 23,2; Neh 9,30; Isa 48,16-17; 59,21; Ezek 8,3; 11,5.24-25; Zech 7,12; Sir 48,24; Hen(aeth) 91,1; 4 Es 14,22; Jub 31,12; PsPhilo 9,10; 28,6; 31,9; 1QS 8,16; CD 2,12; Josephus, *Ant.* 4,108; Philo, *Jos.* 117; *Som.* 2,252; *Spec. Leg.* 4,49; *Mos.* 2,265). Judaism also knew the concept of cleansing by or in relation to God's Spirit (e.g., Ps 51,10-12; Isa 4,4; 32,15-18; 44,3-5; Ezek 36,25-27; Jub 1,23; 1QS 3,6-9; 4,20-22). Nonetheless, although Judaism clearly depicts God as providing revelation and (eschatological) cleansing by means of his Spirit, the question is whether Judaism could conceive of a messianic figure in such a role. The objective of this section, therefore, is to elucidate to what extent Judaism already envisaged or anticipated a messiah who would perform activities of cleansing and revelation in relation to the Spirit.

In the Fourth Gospel, Jesus is given the title of and confessed as (ὁ) Χριστός (1,17.41; 11,27; 17,3; 20,31), and Jesus also identifies himself as such (4,25-26). More particularly, the language of the Spirit descending on Jesus and "resting" or "remaining" on him (1,32-33) probably alludes to Isaiah 11,2, which presents the Davidic Messiah on whom the Spirit of wisdom, understanding, knowledge and power rests (Isa 42,1 may also be in view if we accept the more difficult reading of ὁ ἐκλεκτός in 1,34)⁽²⁶⁾. This invites an investigation of the Jewish messianic traditions, especially of those texts that are rooted in Isaiah 11 (and 42).

Due to the plurality of messianic expectations in Judaism, we shall use "messianic" rather loosely, namely as referring to an anointed (eschatological) figure who would act as God's agent (in the last days) to redeem/deliver Israel (and to rule over her in justice and peace)⁽²⁷⁾.

⁽²⁶⁾ Cf. PORSCH, *Pneuma*, 36-41; R. SCHNACKENBURG, *The Gospel according to St John* (London 1968-1982) I, 303-304; BARRETT, *Gospel*, 178; BURGE, *Community*, 54-62; TURNER, *Spirit*, 58-59.

⁽²⁷⁾ Cf. *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (eds. J. NEUSNER – W.S. GREEN – E.S. FRERICHs) (Cambridge 1987) ix; G.S. OEGEMA, *The Anointed and his People. Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba* (JSPE.S 27; Sheffield 1998) 21-27.

Hence, we shall examine those texts that evoke the *concept* of a messiah, even if the literal term משיח or χριστός does not occur. We will neither elucidate Jewish messianism at large⁽²⁸⁾, nor attempt to homogenize the diverse messianic ideas, but merely examine *specific aspects* of the Messiah, namely whether among the *activities* of a messianic figure are those of revelation and cleansing by means of the Spirit, within a context of “salvation” and judgement. An additional difficulty is that the majority of “messianic” texts “merely” mention *that* a messiah will come, and only a few texts actually attribute *specific functions* to the messianic figure. Although we are not focused on one particular type of messiah — messianic hopes were very diffuse and messianic figures could have traits of a priest, prophet, king or any combination of these — we are nevertheless especially interested in those texts that allude to Isaiah 11 (and 42) since the Fourth Evangelist himself alludes to these texts in 1,32-34⁽²⁹⁾.

From our examination of Jewish literature we will only present the results found in the Palestinian literature (non-rabbinic and non-Qumranian literature written in Palestine) and Qumran literature, because the Diaspora literature (literature written in Greek and/or outside of Palestine) seems little interested in messianic ideas, and rabbinic writings are notoriously difficult to date and rarely attribute specific functions to a messiah.

1. *Palestinian Literature*

Messianism developed primarily in Jewish apocalypticism, viz., the *Psalms of Solomon* (which reflect apocalypticism), the *Similitudes of Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch* (and possibly the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*). One reason might be that this literary genre is characterized by revelation, esoteric wisdom and its eschatological/end-time scenarios

⁽²⁸⁾ For this, see especially *Judaisms* (ed. NEUSNER *et al.*); *The Messiah. Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J.H. CHARLESWORTH) (Minneapolis 1992); J.J. COLLINS, *The Scepter and the Star. The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York 1995); A. LAATO, *A Star Is Rising. The Historical Development of the Old Testament Royal Ideology and the Rise of the Jewish Messianic Expectations* (Atlanta 1997); OEGEMA, *Anointed; Qumran-Messianism. Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. J.H. CHARLESWORTH – H. LICHTENBERGER – G.S. OEGEMA) (Tübingen 1998).

⁽²⁹⁾ It should be noted that Collins argues for more coherence within (royal) messianism than some scholars allow for (J.J. COLLINS, “Jesus, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls”, *Qumran-Messianism* [eds. J.H. CHARLESWORTH *et al.*], 105).

of judgement and restoration. Another, complementary reason may be a particular *Sitz im Leben*, such as the Roman occupation or the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty. These documents can all be dated between 100 BCE and 100 CE, and the presence of messianic ideas in them is (with the exception of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) virtually agreed on by all scholars.

Psalms of Solomon (composed in the first century BCE) is most prominent for its messianic concept. This document envisages a Davidic messiah who is endowed with the Spirit, wisdom, understanding and might (17, 21.37; 18.7), which echoes Isaiah 11.2. This messiah will destroy the wicked, judge the nations, restore Israel and rule over her as God's appointed king (17.21-46; cf. Isa 11.4-9). It is important to observe *how* the Messiah will accomplish his task. First, he will exercise judgement by the word of his mouth (17.24.35), which reflects the LXX translation of Isaiah 11.4. If we recognize the connection of ideas employed by "word", "might" and "Spirit" in 17.36-37 (ἐν ἰσχύι λόγου; δυνατὸν ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ), in combination with Isaiah 11.2 (πνεῦμα ἰσχύος [LXX]) and Isaiah 11.4 (ἐν πνεύματι χειλέων [LXX]), then we may suggest that the Messiah's words have such powerful effect *because* they are Spirit-imbued words. Second, he will cleanse (καθαρίζω) Jerusalem (i.e., Israel) and make her people holy (17.22.30), and he can do this because he himself is καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας (17.36). Third, he will gather a holy people whom he will lead in righteousness, i.e., he will reveal to them God's righteousness so that they can live accordingly (17.26; cf. 17.40-41; 18.8)⁽³⁰⁾. Fourth, connecting these second and third aspects of the Messiah, the Messiah will cleanse Israel, make her holy and guide her in righteousness precisely through his revelatory word/teaching. The Messiah himself is taught by God (17.32), and in turn he is expected to instruct/discipline Israel (παιδεύω [17.42]; cf. the knowledge and teaching that the Messiah is expected to bring in Isa 11.9; 42.4). In fact, 17.43 indicates that his words are aimed at having a purifying effect (τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ πεπυρωμένα ὑπὲρ χρυσίον τὸ πρῶτον τίμιον) and are used to discern/"judge" (διακρίνω) among Israel. Moreover, the Messiah will not only destroy the wicked with the word of his mouth, but will also instruct/discipline Israel with this same word (λόγος στόματος αὐτοῦ in 17.24.35 and ῥάβδος παιδείας in 18.7 are parallel terms; cf. Isa 11.4 to which is alluded and

⁽³⁰⁾ The verb ἀφηγέομαι denotes "to lead" or "to explain", and has the force of "to reveal". Cf. the verb ἐξηγέομαι in John 1.18 which is partially synonymous with ἀφηγέομαι, and which also has the connotation of revelation.

where the LXX translates שֶׁבֶט [“rod”] by λόγος). In sum, the messianic concept in *Psalms of Solomon* is strongly rooted in Isaiah 11, and the primary means by which the Messiah will carry out his task of judgement and cleansing is his Spirit-imbued revelatory word/teaching.

The *Similitudes of Enoch* or *1 Enoch* 37–71 (which can be dated between 50 BCE and 70 CE) also depicts a messianic figure, called “Son of Man”, “Elect One” (cf. Isa 42,1), “Righteous One”, “Messiah”⁽³¹⁾, who is endowed with the Spirit of wisdom, knowledge, might and righteousness (49,3; 62,2; cf. Isa 11,2), and who will exercise judgement and bring “salvation” to the righteous (e.g., 45,3; 46,4–5; 48,7; 49,4; 50–51; 52,9; 55,4; 61,8–9; 62,2–3; 69,27–29). He will judge the wicked by the word of his mouth (62,2; cf. 61,9), which reflects Isaiah 11,4 (LXX), and he will reveal (life-giving?) wisdom to the righteous (48,7). It would probably not be too wide of the mark to suggest that this messianic figure is able to reveal wisdom because he himself is endowed with the Spirit of wisdom. Moreover, he can judge in righteousness (50,4; 62,3) and wisdom (the word of his mouth in 62,2 corresponds to the wisdom of his mouth in 51,3) precisely because the Spirit has endowed him with these qualities (cf. 51,3). Thus, the *Similitudes* also draws on Isaiah 11 (and 42) to picture a messianic figure who will judge the wicked and reveal wisdom to the righteous by means of his Spirit-imbued word.

4 Ezra (dated at the end of the first century CE) describes a scene of judgement in the so-called “eagle vision” (11,36–12,3) in which the lion is explicitly identified as the Messiah (12,31–32). Although the “man from the sea” in 13,1–13 is not explicitly identified as the Messiah, the similarity in task, the allusions to Isaiah 11, and the parallel between 13,25–26 and 12,32 strongly suggest that this figure is none other than the Messiah. This messianic figure will judge the wicked and deliver the righteous (12,32–34; 13,10–13.25–50)⁽³²⁾. The Messiah will destroy the wicked by means of, *inter alia*, a flaming רוח from his lips (13,10–11), which resembles closely the killing of the wicked by the רוח of his lips in Isaiah 11,4. Although *2 Baruch* (compiled around the same time as *4*

⁽³¹⁾ These epithets refer to the same individual (J.C. VANDERKAM, “Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71”, *The Messiah* [ed. J.H. CHARLESWORTH], 169–191; J.H. CHARLESWORTH, “From Jewish Messianology to Christian Christology: Some Caveats and Perspectives”, *Judaisms* [eds. J. NEUSNER *et al.*], 238–240).

⁽³²⁾ In *4 Ezra* the messianic age is not the eschaton because the Messiah will die (7,29).

Ezra) has many references to a messiah (once alluding to Isa 42,1 in 70,10), it does not reveal much of his functions, except the now common picture of a warrior-messiah who will bring judgement and “salvation” (30; 40; 72-73). Regarding the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Testament of Levi* 18,2-9 delineates a priestly messiah (but rooted in Isa 11) upon whom the Spirit of understanding and sanctification/cleansing rests, and who will effect judgement and peace⁽³³⁾.

2. Qumran Literature

In Qumran literature, we find the conceptualization of three eschatological figures — occasionally a Prophet like Moses, and more often the Messiah of Aaron and the Messiah of Israel (1QS 9,11 is the *locus classicus* for this expectation, but cf. CD 7,17-21; 1Q28a col 2,11-22; 4Q174 f1-3 col 1,10-13; 4Q175 5-18)⁽³⁴⁾. We shall first elucidate the messianic ideas in a few individual texts and then determine whether these portrayals contain common elements. 1Q28b col 5,21-26 echoes Isaiah 11 and presents a messiah endowed with the Spirit of knowledge and might who will bring judgement and “salvation” with the power of his mouth, with the רוח of his lips. It would probably not be too wide of the mark to claim that the powerful רוח of his mouth either refers to the Spirit of might or to the *effect* of his Spirit-endowment. Isaiah 11,1-5 is even cited in its entirety in 4Q161 f8-10 col 3,11-16. This suggests that the powerful effect of the רוח of the Messiah’s lips is due to his endowment of the Spirit (of might). Perhaps this is why in line 19 the execution of the Messiah’s enemies by the רוח of his lips can be directly related (or attributed) to God’s support of the Messiah with the Spirit of might. 4Q534 col 1,8-10; 2,7-16 probably alludes to Isaiah 11 and 42 when it depicts God’s Chosen

⁽³³⁾ We regard TestXII.Lev 18,2-9 as pre-Christian, and only consider “in the water” in v. 7 as a Christian redaction (cf. OEGEMA, *Anointed*, 79-80).

⁽³⁴⁾ Qumran messianism was not monolithic; for its varieties and developments, see esp. J.H. CHARLESWORTH, “Challenging the Consensus Communis Regarding Qumran Messianism (1QS, 4QS MSS)”, *Qumran-Messianism* (eds. J.H. CHARLESWORTH *et al.*), 120-134 and OEGEMA, *Anointed*. Unless indicated otherwise, the references to Qumran literature are taken from F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*. The Qumran Texts in English (Leiden 1996). The clause about the two messiahs in 1QS 9,11, however, is absent in 4QS MS E (CHARLESWORTH, “Consensus”, 120-134). Messianic ideas already appear in the earliest stratum of Qumran literature and are based on biblical tradition (e.g., Gen 49,10; Num 24,17; Deut 18,15-18; Isa 11,1-5; Jer 33,15-18; Zech 4,14; 6,12-13) (cf. OEGEMA, *Anointed*, 88-98).

One filled with wisdom and knowledge who will cause destruction by the רוח of his breath⁽³⁵⁾.

4Q175 5-13 speaks both of the eschatological Prophet who will bring God's revelation (with negative consequences for those who reject it) and of a royal-political messiah who will execute judgement. Lines 14-20 of 4Q175 also present the idea of a messiah providing revelation; a priestly messiah who would according to Deuteronomy 33,10 teach the law (cf. the revelatory function implicit in the epithet "the Interpreter/Teacher of the law" in CD 7,18 and 4Q174 f1-3 col 1,11, which probably refers to the same priestly messianic figure)⁽³⁶⁾. 4Q541 f7 4-6 possibly refers to judgement or a sifting of the wicked and the wise ones by means of the Messiah's word/teaching. 4Q541 f9 col 1,2-3 depicts a priestly messiah who will perform acts of atonement/cleansing, and he will do so by means of the revelation of his wisdom in the form of divine teaching⁽³⁷⁾. In the Damascus Document we can also find reference to an eschatological act of atonement which will cleanse the sins of the community, performed either by a priestly messiah or by God through his messiah (CD 14,19)⁽³⁸⁾.

It appears that Qumran literature draws on a broad nexus of OT texts for the portrayal of its various messianic figures (see n.34), but these descriptions appear to have some common traits⁽³⁹⁾. Judgement is an important function of the Prophet and the royal Messiah, and takes place when the Prophet's revelatory words of his mouth are rejected (4Q175; cf. 4Q541) and when the Spirit-endowed royal

⁽³⁵⁾ Puech interprets the entire expression רוח נשמוהי in col 1,10 and col 2,7 as "his Spirit" (É. PUECH, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII. Textes araméens première partie* 4Q529-549 [DJD 31; Oxford 2001] 134, 143, 146).

⁽³⁶⁾ Cf. M.A. KNIBB, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge 1987) 264-266.

⁽³⁷⁾ We have used the text as reconstructed by PUECH, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII*, 239-244.

⁽³⁸⁾ For a more detailed outworking of the concept of atonement in relation to a priestly messiah, see LAATO, *Star*, 299-307. Other texts rather draw on Isaiah 61 for their portrayal of a messiah who will bring "salvation". 11Q13 col 2, e.g., portrays the concept of atonement and a Spirit-endowed messianic figure who will announce liberty and good news/peace/salvation. 4Q521 f2 col 2 portrays a messiah taken from Isaiah 61,1 (line 1), and although it is unlikely that the Messiah is the subject in lines 11-12, Collins argues that it is likely that God acts through the *agency* of a prophetic messiah (COLLINS, *Scepter*, 117-118; cf. TURNER, *Power*, 117; É. PUECH, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII. Textes hébreux* [4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579] [DJD 25; Oxford 1998] 13).

⁽³⁹⁾ Other texts that contain messianic expectations are, e.g., 1Q28a, CD, 1QM, 4Q174, 4Q246, 4Q252, 4Q285, but they do not shed more light on our agenda.

Messiah will strike the wicked with the רוח of his mouth (1Q28b, 4Q161, 4Q534). The common denominator in this idea of judgement, then, appears to be what comes out of the mouth of the eschatological figure, whether a revelatory word or the powerful רוח. Acts of atonement/cleansing are occasionally mentioned and performed by a priestly messiah (4Q541; CD; cf. 11Q13). Messianic figures are also expected to bring revelation, either as a means of judgement or for teaching and/or interpreting the law to the people (4Q175; 4Q541; cf. 4Q174, CD). In fact, the Spirit's providing the Messiah with revelatory wisdom (1Q28b, 4Q161) naturally also has a revelatory dimension⁽⁴⁰⁾. In many of these texts the Spirit is instrumental in the Messiah's eschatological activities of judgement and "salvation".

3. *Synthesis*

Many Jewish messianic texts we have elucidated draw on or allude to Isaiah 11 (esp. v. 4). The issue then is the nature of what exactly comes out of the Messiah's mouth, indicated by רוח שפתי in Isaiah 11,4. The word שפה can mean "lip" but also "speech", and the semantic domain of רוח contains both "breath" and "Spirit", so that the expression רוח שפתי may simply mean "the breath of his lips" but it can also refer to the Messiah's Spirit-imbued word. There are good reasons to assume that we do not need to choose between these two references but that probably both are in view. First, the co-text of Isaiah 11,4 clearly mentions the Messiah's endowment with the Spirit of wisdom, of knowledge and of might (v. 2). This suggests that the revelatory wisdom, understanding and knowledge provided by the Spirit are probably the basis for the Messiah's Spirit-imbued speech described in v. 4. Moreover, the powerful effect of the Messiah's words described in Isaiah 11,4 should probably also be attributed to this Spirit of might/power. Second, the LXX translation of Isaiah 11,4 explicitly states that words come out of the Messiah's mouth (οἱ λόγοι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ), and the intended parallelism with πνεῦμα χειλέων suggests that these words are Spirit-infused. Third, some Jewish texts we have elucidated also interpret Isaiah 11,4 in terms of a messiah's judgement by his Spirit-imbued word (*Psalms of Solomon*, *1 Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, 1Q28b, 4Q161, 4Q534). Thus, *the Messiah's Spirit-imbued word is the primary and powerful means by which he executes judgement*.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Cf. the revelatory aspect of the proclamation of good news by a Spirit-endowed messiah in 11Q13 and 4Q521.

This eschatological judgement contains a dimension of cleansing, in that Israel will be purged, i.e., cleansed, from her enemies (PsSol explicitly uses the term καθαρίζω; cf. TestXII.Lev. 18,2-9). This is due to the Messiah's dual task of judgement and restoration; the judgement of Israel's enemies goes side by side with (or is part of) the "salvation" the Messiah will bring to Israel (cf. Isa 11,1-9; 42,1-7; 61,1-3). In the *Psalms of Solomon*, this cleansing is effected by the Messiah's empowerment with the Spirit. Moreover, some Qumran writings occasionally attribute acts of cleansing to a messiah and/or speak of the cleansing capacity or effect of his word/teaching (4Q541; CD; cf. 11Q13). Hence, *the Messiah's (Spirit-imbued) word seems also instrumental in his activities of cleansing*. It can be argued that those messianic texts which allude to Isaiah 11 naturally expect that the Messiah's Spirit-provided revelatory wisdom, understanding and knowledge form the *basis* for his revelatory speech and teaching, and hence *the Spirit also seems instrumental in the revelation the Messiah provides*.

In conclusion, although there is not one document that explicitly attributes *all* the above functions to a single messiah, some common traits can be detected in the various portrayals of messiahs in messianic Judaism. Many of these messianic texts draw, *inter alia*, on Isaiah 11 and consequently envisage a messiah endowed with the Spirit in order to carry out his task. We may conclude, then, that at least *some* messianic strands within Judaism knew of a messiah who would perform acts of judgement, "salvation", cleansing and revelation by means of the Spirit (or by means of what the Spirit provides, such as wisdom, knowledge and might). If one also realizes that Judaism at large expected that God would bring about Israel's eschatological salvation by means of his Spirit (e.g., Isa 32,15; 44,3; Ezek 36,25-27), then it will come as no surprise that *messianic* Judaism expected this to happen precisely through God's Spirit-endowed Messiah. This conclusion coheres with our suggestion in section I concerning the basic meaning of the Johannine metaphor "to baptize with the Holy Spirit" in terms of Jesus' activities of cleansing and revelation by means of the Spirit. Nevertheless, this idea needs to be substantiated by, and tested against, the presentation of Jesus and his activities in the Fourth Gospel.

III. Spirit-Baptism in the Fourth Gospel

Having suggested that the Johannine concept of Spirit-baptism refers to Jesus' activities of revelation and cleansing through the Spirit,

and is rooted in Jewish messianic expectations, we shall now investigate to what extent the Evangelist adheres to this understanding and throws more light on the metaphor. Bearing in mind that the literal term “to baptize with Spirit” is a *hapax legomenon* in the Fourth Gospel, the Evangelist has probably captured or unfolded this concept of Jesus’ baptizing with Holy Spirit by using other images or even metaphors. For even if the literal phrase “to baptize with Holy Spirit” does not occur, the concept can still be evoked. The question then is: how is the concept of Spirit-baptism manifested in the Fourth Gospel? Our strategy in answering this question is twofold. First, we will look at Jesus’ ministry and investigate his predominant activity. Second, we will elucidate the role of the Spirit in Jesus’ mission. We will dismiss the concept of Jesus’ baptizing with water (3,22.26; 4,1) as a clue for interpreting Jesus’ Spirit-baptism because the correction of the narrator in 4,2 explains that it was actually not Jesus himself who baptized, and hence it would be unlikely that the water-baptism by Jesus’ disciples has suddenly become an interpretation of the Spirit-baptism by Jesus⁽⁴¹⁾.

1. *The Nature of Jesus’ Ministry*

Jesus’ main activity in the Fourth Gospel is teaching (cf. the use of διδάσκω and διδάχή in 6,59; 7,14-17.28.35; 8,2.20; 18,19-20) and he is frequently addressed as “Teacher” (1,38; 3,2; 8,4; 11,28; 13,13-14; 20,16). The Johannine presentations of Jesus’ teaching are essentially the public discourses in John 1-12 and the private discourses to the disciples in John 13-17. This teaching is revelatory in that it comes from God and is about God whom no one has seen (1,18; 3,34; 7,16-17). In fact, Jesus’ revelation and teaching are identical, i.e., Jesus reveals through his teaching and he teaches through revelation. The aim of his revelatory teaching is to reveal the identity and work of the Father and Son and the nature of their relationship (1,18; 3,11-13.31-36; 8,19; 14,9-11; 15,15; 17,6-8.26)⁽⁴²⁾. Jesus encounters people with his revelatory teaching, which carries an intrinsic demand for a response; Jesus confronts people with the choice of accepting or rejecting him and his revelation. Moreover, this revelation/teaching leads to life/salvation if accepted but to judgement and death if rejected (e.g., 3,15-18.36; 5,24; 6,35; 9,41).

⁽⁴¹⁾ See also DUNN, *Baptism*, 20-21.

⁽⁴²⁾ Cf. C. BENNEMA, *The Power of Saving Wisdom. An Investigation of Spirit and Wisdom in Relation to the Soteriology of the Fourth Gospel* (WUNT II/148; Tübingen 2002) 117-120.

Besides a revelatory aspect, Jesus' teaching also has a cleansing dimension. Jesus declares to his disciples in 15,3 that they are already clean (καθαροί) by or because of his revelatory word (cf. Jesus' statement in 13,10 that the disciples are clean [καθαρός]). In 17,17 we find the idea of God's word, given by Jesus to the disciples (17,8.14), purifying (ἀγιάζω) the disciples. Both καθαρός and ἀγιάζω (as βαπτίζω) evoke the imagery of cleansing⁽⁴³⁾. More particularly, Jesus' word can cleanse people because it contains truth, which will sanctify and set people free from sin (8,31-36; 17,17). Thus, the picture that emerges is that of Jesus cleansing people by means of his word/teaching because it contains life-giving, liberating, purifying truth. In sum, Jesus' teaching contains both a revelatory and cleansing dimension, and gives life if accepted but results in judgement and death if rejected.

2. *The Role of the Spirit in Jesus' Ministry*

Jesus' revelatory teaching is essentially the communication of what he has seen and heard from the Father (3,12-13.31-34; 5,19-20; 8,26-28.38; 14,24; 15,15). Jesus can bring this revelation from and about God precisely because Jesus is endowed with the Spirit. As we have suggested in section II, 1,32-34 alludes to Isaiah 11,2 and signifies Jesus' endowment with the Spirit of wisdom, knowledge and might. The implication is that the Spirit provides Jesus with revelatory wisdom and knowledge, which would naturally form the basis for revelatory teaching. This would nicely dovetail with 3,34 which indicates that Jesus can speak the words of God, i.e., bring God's revelation, *because* God gives Jesus the Spirit without measure⁽⁴⁴⁾. Thus, Jesus can be the Revealer of God, and as such provide revelatory teaching, precisely because he is endowed with the Spirit (of wisdom, knowledge and power)⁽⁴⁵⁾.

The Spirit upon Jesus does not only empower Jesus for his mission but also has an effect on people. The "acceptance" of Jesus' revelatory teaching in order to receive life/salvation is based on an adequate belief-response that recognizes and understands the true identity and work of the Father and Son, and their relationship. People, however, by

⁽⁴³⁾ The Louw-Nida lexicon, for example, recognizes that βαπτίζω and ἀγιάζω are partially synonymous, i.e., they can have a shared meaning.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ So, for example, BULTMANN, *Gospel*, 164; SCHNACKENBURG, *Gospel*, I, 386; BARRETT, *Gospel*, 226; BURGE, *Community*, 83-84; TURNER, *Spirit*, 59-60; contra BROWN, *Gospel*, I, 158; PORSCH, *Pneuma*, 104.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Cf. BENNEMA, *Power*, 160-167.

themselves cannot come to such belief-response and cannot “hear”/understand the words of Jesus/God because they do not know God and are not from God (1,18; 7,28; 8,19.43.47.55; 16,3; 17,3). People are frequently depicted as being dull, as misunderstanding Jesus, or as finding his teaching difficult or unable to understand (Nicodemus in 3,1-15; the Samaritan woman in 4,1-26; the disciples [14,5-9; 16,17-18; 20,9]; cf. 6,60; 10,6). Others blatantly reject Jesus because their eyes are blinded and their hearts are hardened, i.e., their minds are closed for true understanding (12,39-40; cf. 1,10-11). In short, people are not from God and unable of themselves to grasp the meaning and significance of Jesus’ life-giving teaching because they lack understanding.

The Spirit is, according to the Fourth Gospel, instrumental in the process of bringing people to understanding belief and hence salvation. First, those people who accept, i.e., believe in Jesus, are born from God (1,12-13). John 3,3.5 subsequently elucidates this birth from God as a birth from the Spirit, which alludes to the eschatological cleansing and transformation of Israel that God will bring about by means of his Spirit (Ezek 36,25-27; 37,1-14). This new birth is accomplished through looking in belief at the one lifted up on the cross (3,14-15). However, 3,9-13 points out that Nicodemus is not able to grasp Jesus’ revelation and to respond in belief, and implies that a birth of the Spirit is accomplished through some sort of understanding of Jesus’ revelation, especially that of the cross⁽⁴⁶⁾. Second, the Spirit is actively reaching out to people through Jesus’ teaching. In John 4, Jesus is depicted as the source of “living water” (4,10.14), which is a metaphor for Jesus’ Spirit-imbued revelatory teaching that cleanses and purifies⁽⁴⁷⁾, and which leads to eternal life/salvation if it is accepted (4,41-42). In John 6, Jesus states that his words are life-and-Spirit (6,63), i.e., the Spirit gives life (6,63a) precisely in and through Jesus’ life-giving words (6,63c). This coheres with the concept of the Spirit of truth in John 13-17. After Jesus’ departure, the Spirit will mediate or reveal to people the life-giving truth present in Jesus’ teaching (16,13), and, in fact, the disciples already “know”, i.e., have experienced, this Spirit as such (ὁμῆις γινώσκετε αὐτό [πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας] [14,17]).

In sum, the Spirit provides Jesus with revelatory wisdom and

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Cf. TURNER, *Spirit*, 68-69; BENNEMA, *Power*, 168-181.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ “Living water” has four possible referents in Judaism (life/salvation, cleansing/purification, Spirit, divine wisdom/teaching), which are probably all in view (BROWN, *Gospel*, I, 178-179; TURNER, *Spirit*, 61-63; BENNEMA, *Power*, 183-185).

knowledge that is the basis for his revelatory teaching, which cleanses and gives life because it contains liberating and purifying truth/wisdom. People need to *know* God through an understanding and acceptance of Jesus' teaching, and subsequently become *from God* through a new birth. The Spirit functions in this process as the facilitator of true understanding, in that the Spirit mediates to people the life-giving truth present in Jesus' word so that people may come to true understanding and belief, and to a subsequent birth of the Spirit. Thus, Jesus performs activities of revelation and cleansing (through his teaching) by means of the Spirit⁽⁴⁸⁾.

3. *Jesus' Spirit-Baptism*

After having outlined the nature of Jesus' ministry and the role of the Spirit in this, we are now able to see how this dovetails with a concept of "the baptism with Holy Spirit" as referring to a Spirit-endowed messiah who would reveal God and cleanse people. First, the metaphorical birth of water-and-Spirit denotes the cleansing and transformation of people by means of the Spirit, which is based on a Spirit-provided understanding of the significance of Jesus' revelation (culminating on the cross). Second, the "living water" that Jesus offers denotes the cleansing and life-giving qualities of Jesus' Spirit-imbued revelation. Third, according to John 3 and 6, Jesus' revelatory word/teaching is (or becomes) life-giving if its significance is understood, which is possible because the Spirit is actively reaching out to people through Jesus' teaching and revealing to people the significance of Jesus' revelation, especially the event on the cross.

From our investigation thus far the following picture then seems to emerge. Jesus' main activity in the Fourth Gospel is to provide Spirit-imbued revelatory teaching that cleanses and restores people, in that it brings life/salvation to those who accept Jesus and his revelation. To put it differently, Jesus cleanses and transforms people, and hence gives them eternal life, through his revelatory teaching by means of the Spirit, in that the Spirit empowers Jesus and is active in and through Jesus' life-giving revelation. Jesus reveals God by means of his Spirit-imbued teaching, which, if accepted, cleanses the person and brings life/salvation, or, if rejected, brings judgement and condemnation. This concept could then be an expression or interpretation of Jesus'

⁽⁴⁸⁾ For a fuller elaboration of the Spirit's salvific role in Jesus' ministry, see BENNEMA, *Power*, chap. 4.

baptizing with the Holy Spirit. Hence, I suggest that, according to the Fourth Evangelist, *Jesus' confronting of people with his Spirit-imbued revelatory life-giving teaching is essentially an actualization of Jesus' baptizing with Holy Spirit*. Spirit-baptism then denotes the concept of cleansing through revelation; through Jesus' Spirit-imbued word/teaching, which reveals God, people are cleansed (cf. 13,10; 15,3; 17,17). All people who encounter Jesus' teaching, then, undergo this baptism with the Holy Spirit, but the *effect* it has on people depends on one's response towards Jesus; those who accept Jesus' teaching experience the baptism as cleansing and salvific, whereas those who reject it experience this same baptism as causing judgement ⁽⁴⁹⁾.

The Fourth Gospel envisages the time after Jesus' departure to be in continuity with Jesus' earthly ministry, in that there is a strong continuity between Jesus' earthly mission and the mission of the Paraclete and the disciples. First, the Paraclete is modelled on Jesus and will take over Jesus' functions after his departure (14,16) ⁽⁵⁰⁾. Second, as a revelatory Teacher, the Paraclete will enable the disciples to recall Jesus' revelatory words/teaching and reveal to them their meaning and significance (14,26; 16,12-15), which will inform and prepare the disciples' witness to the world (15,26-27) ⁽⁵¹⁾. Third, connecting 16,8-11 with 16,12-15, the Paraclete will convict the world of sin, righteousness and judgement precisely by revealing and teaching the significance of Jesus' historical revelation to and through the disciples because the world cannot see or know the Paraclete (14,17) ⁽⁵²⁾. The Paraclete's conviction of the world, on the basis of the proclamation of Jesus' words through the disciples, also results in either salvation or judgement, dependent on whether one accepts or rejects the correlated witness of the Paraclete and the disciples (15,18 – 16,4; 16,8-11; 17,14,20) ⁽⁵³⁾. Fourth, Jesus' mission is paradigmatic for the mission of the disciples (17,18; 20,21).

This strong continuity between Jesus' earthly ministry and the ministry of the Paraclete and the disciples invites the question of how the latter ministry may be related to Jesus' Spirit-baptism, i.e., the

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Cf. DUNN, *Baptism*, 13-14; TURNER, *Power*, 185.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ For the numerous functional parallels between Jesus and the Paraclete, see BULTMANN, *Gospel*, 566-567; BROWN, *Gospel*, II, 1135-1136.

⁽⁵¹⁾ For the Paraclete's role as Teacher, see BENNEMA, *Power*, 228-234. John 2,22 and 12,16 are most likely examples of the Paraclete's anamnesis (14,26).

⁽⁵²⁾ Cf. TURNER, *Spirit*, 87.

⁽⁵³⁾ See BENNEMA, *Power*, 234-242.

question of how the mission of the Paraclete and the disciples will then be one of revelation and cleansing. If the disciples were cleansed by Jesus' revelatory word (15,3; 17,17), then further revelation of Jesus' teaching (provided by the Paraclete) will be expected to result in further cleansing (cf. "truth" being the cleansing content of Jesus' word [17,17] that is mediated to people by the Spirit of truth [16,13]). Moreover, the disciples' witness is informed by and based on Jesus' words as the result of the Paraclete's revelatory teaching activity. Hence, if other people may believe in Jesus through the disciples' Paraclete-imbued words (15,26-27; 17,20), then they will also be cleansed by these words. People who are confronted with the combined witness of the Paraclete and the disciples are essentially confronted with the revelatory life-giving teaching of Jesus himself. In fact, the disciples' words are "Paraclete" and "life" (cf. 6,63), and therefore are expected to have the same revelatory and cleansing quality/effect as Jesus' words. Thus, the glorified Jesus will continue his work of revelation and cleansing by means of the Spirit-Paraclete through the disciples, and hence Jesus will continue to baptize people with Holy Spirit, in that people will be confronted with the disciples' Paraclete-imbued witness.

The final text we need to look at is 20,22, concerning the giving of the Spirit. We have argued elsewhere that the "giving" of the Spirit in 20,22 denotes the disciples' reception or experience of a new relationship with the Spirit that secures and sustains their salvation, and that the coming of the Spirit as Paraclete refers to an event beyond the chronological horizon of the Fourth Gospel⁽⁵⁴⁾. If "to baptize with Holy Spirit" refers to Jesus' confrontation of, for instance, his disciples with his life-giving teaching (in and through which the Spirit is active), and if the giving of the Spirit by Jesus secures and sustains the disciples' saving relationship with Jesus, then the disciples' reception of the Spirit in 20,22 should probably also be included in the concept of Jesus baptizing with Holy Spirit⁽⁵⁵⁾. Moreover, if "to baptize with Holy Spirit"

⁽⁵⁴⁾ C. BENNEMA, "The Giving of the Spirit in John's Gospel — A New Proposal?", *EvQ* 74 (2002) 195-213. If one wants to talk about a "gift" of the Spirit, then the radical shift towards the Messiah giving/bestowing the Spirit happens only in the NT.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Contra Michaels, who not only believes that Jesus did not baptize with the Holy Spirit during his ministry, but who also denies a reference to Spirit-baptism in 20,22 (J.R. MICHAELS, "Baptism and Conversion in John: A Particular Baptist Reading", *Baptism, the New Testament and the Church*. Historical and Contemporary Studies in Honour of R.E.O. White [eds. S.E. PORTER — A.R. CROSS] [JSNTSS 171; Sheffield 1999] 136, 140).

also refers to Jesus' continuous ministry of revelation and cleansing after his glorification through the disciples by means of the Spirit-Paraclete, then it is likely that the coming of the Spirit-Paraclete would also come under the heading "to baptize with Holy Spirit". Hence, both the giving of the Spirit in 20,22 and the awaited coming of the Spirit-Paraclete can be included in the concept "to baptize with Holy Spirit".

IV. The Meaning of Spirit-Baptism in the Fourth Gospel

We are now in a position to define more precisely the meaning of the metaphor βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ in the Fourth Gospel according to John's understanding. Linguistically, we suggested that the two basic referents of βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ are revelation and cleansing, and that the Spirit would be instrumental (section I). Subsequently, we argued that this concept of revelation and cleansing by means of the Spirit is rooted in Jewish messianic expectations (section II). Assuming that the meaning of βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ would be further unfolded in the rest of John's Gospel, we examined the nature of Jesus' ministry and the role of the Spirit (before and after Jesus' departure) (section III). This investigation showed that both revelation and cleansing are dominant aspects of Jesus' ministry and frequently related to the Spirit. We suggested that these activities of Jesus by means of the Spirit are in fact an actualization of Jesus' baptizing of people with Holy Spirit. Consequently, John seems to understand βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ as a metaphor for *the Messiah's ongoing revelation of God to and cleansing of Israel by means of the Spirit*, effecting both salvation and judgement, depending on one's attitude towards the Spirit-Baptizer⁽⁵⁶⁾. Hence, βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ is soteriologically necessary.

When did the Evangelist think that the Baptist's prophecy concerning Jesus' baptizing with Holy Spirit was fulfilled? Narratively 1,33 creates a tension — when will Jesus start doing it? — and, in the light of this, 3,22 is teasing, until 4,2 resolves the matter. The vast

(56) Interestingly, Origen probably also understood Jesus' Spirit-baptism in terms of spiritual cleansing (*Contra Celsum*, 1.48.51-68). According to Origen, Jesus cleansed the leper not only physically but also spiritually. Origen then relates (οὕτως οὖν) Jesus' cleansing of the leper to the Johannine account of the event at the Jordan by quoting John 1,32-34 and 1,51. In fact, it seems likely that Origen attributes Jesus' ability to cleanse spiritually to his ability to baptize with the Holy Spirit. Moreover, by connecting 1,32-34 and 1,51, the theme of revelation is not far removed from Origen's thought either.

majority of scholars think that “the baptism in/with Holy Spirit” refers to one single event, and is fulfilled either in 19,30⁽⁵⁷⁾ or 20,22⁽⁵⁸⁾, or at an event beyond the text of John’s Gospel, such as Pentecost in Acts 2⁽⁵⁹⁾. However, we have already seen that “to baptize with Holy Spirit” cannot be restricted to a single event. In fact, the Fourth Gospel depicts Jesus’ activity of baptizing with Holy Spirit as a process or nexus of activities which had already started during Jesus’ ministry, which continued after his glorification, and which finds its fulfilment at a point in the further future. It would probably not be too wide of the mark to assume that this future point might be the Parousia⁽⁶⁰⁾.

We are now also able to assess (from a Johannine perspective) the Pentecostal position and that of Dunn. Classical Pentecostalism interprets “the baptism in the Holy Spirit” as the gift of the Spirit for missionary empowerment (so, for example, Ervin and Menzies). However, to interpret “the baptism in the Holy Spirit” in terms of the Messiah giving God’s Spirit as empowerment remains problematic and is also too limited since Jesus’ Spirit-baptism is not merely a *donum superadditum* without soteriological consequences. Moreover, βαπτίζω in Judaism does not carry the sense of “to empower”.

Taking Spirit-baptism as the high-point in conversion-initiation, Dunn sees an initiatory metaphor in the Spirit-baptism: just as Jesus’ own anointing at the Jordan was an initiatory experience, a baptism in the Spirit, so he will baptize others in the Spirit, i.e., initiate others into the new age/Kingdom⁽⁶¹⁾. Thus, Jesus’ own baptism in the Spirit is paradigmatic of all later Spirit-baptisms; Jesus’ entry into the new age and covenant is prototypical of every initiate’s entry into the new age and covenant⁽⁶²⁾. Finally, based on John 7,39, Dunn argues that Jesus’

⁽⁵⁷⁾ J.-J. SUURMOND, “A Fresh Look at Spirit-Baptism and the Charisms”, *ExpTim* 109 (1998) 105.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ DUNN, *Baptism*, 176; BROWN, *Gospel*, II, 1038-1039; G. JOHNSTON, *The Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel of John* (Cambridge 1970) 10-11; BARRETT, *Gospel*, 89; SCHNACKENBURG, *Gospel*, III, 325; BURGE, *Community*, 126, 148; cf. BEASLEY-MURRAY, *John*, 66.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ ERVIN, *Spirit-Baptism*, 19-20.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Only a few scholars also see “to baptize with Holy Spirit” in John as some sort of ongoing activity rather than a solitary event (although different from our view and less substantiated): J.E. YATES, *The Spirit and the Kingdom* (London 1963), 2-3, 7, 214-218; H. WINDISCH, “Jesus and the Spirit in the Gospel of John”, *The Spirit-Paraclete in the Fourth Gospel* (ed. J. REUMANN) (Philadelphia 1968), 31-33; PORSCHE, *Pneuma*, 375; KEENER, *Questions*, 21.

⁽⁶¹⁾ DUNN, *Baptism*, 14, 22, 31, 41; ID., “Birth”, 136.

ministry as Baptizer in the Spirit is postponed until he has been glorified⁽⁶³⁾. However, Dunn's view is not without difficulties⁽⁶⁴⁾. First, there is no evidence that when βαπτίζω is used as a metaphor it ever carried the sense "to initiate"⁽⁶⁵⁾. Second, we suggested that, according to 1,32-34 and its allusion to Isaiah 11,2, Jesus' anointing at the Jordan was not an initiation into the new age and covenant but an empowerment of the Spirit to fulfil his messianic task as Spirit-Baptizer. Third, from a Johannine perspective, Jesus did not need to be cleansed and purified himself first in order to baptize with the Holy Spirit, and therefore, Jesus' experience at the Jordan cannot be equated with a baptism in the Spirit. Thus, Jesus' anointing with the Spirit is not paradigmatic for later believers⁽⁶⁶⁾. Fourth, concerning the start of Jesus' ministry as Spirit-Baptizer, we argued that Jesus' activity as the Spirit-Baptizer had already started during his ministry.

Excursus: A Comparison of Spirit-Baptism in John and the Synoptics

Comparing the saying in John 1,33 with that in the Synoptics we find that John 1,33 and Mark 1,8 have βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, whereas Matthew 3,11 and Luke 3,16 contain βαπτίζω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί⁽⁶⁷⁾. From a source-critical perspective it seems that Matthew and Luke reflect their dependence on the Q tradition, which is most probably the original saying⁽⁶⁸⁾. We believe that Turner has made a good case for Luke's understanding of the metaphor: he argues that the purpose of Jesus' Spirit-baptism is to *cleanse*

(62) DUNN, *Baptism*, 32. Although Dunn's position is based mainly on the Synoptics, he does not indicate that the Fourth Evangelist thought radically differently (cf. *Baptism*, 29, n. 19, 184, 226-227).

(63) DUNN, *Baptism*, 21.

(64) Although the later Dunn seems to have slightly changed, he still interprets Spirit-baptism as one-off and initiatory, and Jesus' anointing by the Spirit as his own baptism in the Spirit (J.D.G. DUNN, "Baptism in the Spirit: A Response to Pentecostal Scholarship on Luke-Acts", *JPT* 3 [1993] 16-22).

(65) TURNER, *Power*, 182-183.

(66) Ervin also argues that Jesus' baptism in the Holy Spirit at the Jordan provides a theological paradigm for all subsequent Spirit-baptisms; not as initiatory, but for power-in-mission (*Conversion-Initiation*, 5-6). However, "to baptize with the Holy Spirit" implicates more for people than merely missionary empowerment.

(67) Painter observes that John has many close verbal parallels with Mark, and in general John 1-12 follows the order of Mark (J. PAINTER, *The Quest for the Messiah. The History, Literature and Theology of the Johannine Community* [Edinburgh 21993] 101).

(68) BROWN, *Gospel*, I, 57; DUNN, *Baptism*, 10; ID., "Birth", 135; WEBB, *John*, 264-265, 272-275; TURNER, *Power*, 172-173.

repentant Israel with the Spirit of the contagion of sin, and that John the Baptist did not go further than the traditional expectation of the Messiah mightily endowed with the Spirit (based on Isa 11,1-4), and the arrival of the Messiah, effecting both judgement and salvation, would itself be sufficient to explain the metaphor “to baptize with Holy Spirit-and-fire” (cf. Isa 4,4)⁽⁶⁹⁾.

How does such an interpretation relate to John’s understanding of “to baptize with the Holy Spirit”? We will first suggest why the Fourth Evangelist omitted the “and fire” from the original Q-saying. A possible reason for this omission is because according to the Fourth Gospel Jesus did not visibly introduce a judgement of fire as the Baptist anticipated⁽⁷⁰⁾. Judgement in the Fourth Gospel is not depicted in apocalyptic end-of-the-world language, nor does John portray Jesus as bringing judgement in an active way (3,17; 8,15). Jesus is depicted as the locus of God’s revelation and salvation, and there is judgement for those who reject the revelation Jesus brings, i.e., judgement is dependent on one’s attitude towards the Spirit-Baptizer (3,17-21.36; 5,24; 9,1-41; 12,47-48). Jesus and his ministry have a κρισις-effect: judgement is the inevitable and immediate consequence of those who reject Jesus and the revelation he brings in his teaching. Porsch neatly expresses it as follows:

Das vom Täufer bei Mt und Lk angekündigte Gericht («mit Feuer») ist dadurch bei Joh ganz ins Innere verlegt, insofern die Begegnung mit der Offenbarung Jesu den Menschen in die Krisis stellt und ihn entweder >reinig< oder nur noch mehr verhärtet⁽⁷¹⁾.

Hence, both John and the Synoptics have a similar understanding of the Baptist’s prophecy “to baptize with Holy Spirit(-and-fire)”, in that Spirit-baptism has the purpose of cleansing and effects salvation or judgement. A possible explanation for this resemblance may be that the Fourth Evangelist knew (part of) Q or the Synoptic tradition, and utilized or shared the same Baptist tradition as the Synoptics but shaped it according to his own theological concerns/purposes⁽⁷²⁾. Even those who challenge John’s

⁽⁶⁹⁾ TURNER, *Power*, 183. In fact, van Imschoot was the first to argue for this view, and he concludes that “l’esprit saint, associé au feu, y désigne, suivant la promesse d’Is. 4.3 [sic], la force divine par laquelle le Messie «ôtera les souillures» de son peuple pour en faire une communauté de «saints»” (“Baptême”, 661-662; cf. G.R. BEASLEY-MURRAY, *Baptism in the New Testament* [Grand Rapids 1962] 37-38). Judaism did not only use “fire” to denote both destruction and purification (Isa 31,9; 66,15-16; Amos 7,4; Zech 13,9; Mal 3,2-3; 4,1; Jub 9,15), but also “Spirit” (Ps 51,10-11; Isa 4,4; Ezek 36,25-27; Jub 1,23; Hen(aeth) 62,2; 1QS 3,6-8; 4,20-21) (cf. DUNN, “Spirit-And-Fire Baptism”, 87).

⁽⁷⁰⁾ R.E. BROWN, “Three Quotations from John the Baptist in the Gospel of John”, *CBQ* 22 (1960) 295.

⁽⁷¹⁾ PORSCH, *Pneuma*, 211.

⁽⁷²⁾ See especially Dunderberg’s study, which also shows the influence of the Synoptic material on John 1,32-34 (I. DUNDERBERG, *Johannes und die Synoptiker. Studien zu Joh 1-9* [Helsinki 1994] 62-66, *passim*). Other scholars who think that John’s narrative source is Synoptic-like are, for example, BARRETT, *Gospel*, 42-

dependence on the Synoptics still explain the contacts between John and the Synoptics in terms of contacts between the *sources* of the Synoptic writers and those available to the Fourth Evangelist, rather than among the Gospels themselves⁽⁷³⁾.

V. Conclusion

Jesus is depicted in the Fourth Gospel as being empowered by the Spirit in order to provide life-giving revelation that would cleanse Israel. Jesus' eschatological cleansing of Israel by the Spirit is captured by the Evangelist under the metaphor "to baptize with Holy Spirit", which in turn embraces Jesus' ministry of revelatory teaching. In fact, "to baptize with Holy Spirit" *is* Jesus' ministry; it is shorthand for Jesus' salvific programme of revelation and cleansing by means of the Spirit. In other words, 1,33 is *programmatic* for Jesus' ministry, in that it sets the agenda for Jesus' ministry and summarizes in a nutshell Jesus' salvific programme for Israel (and the world).

The Jewish picture of a messianic figure endowed with Spirit and revelatory wisdom who would purge/cleanse Israel of her enemies with his revelatory Spirit-imbued word, rooted in Isaiah 11, fits best the picture of the Johannine Jesus. Since the Jewish concepts of a messiah were diverse and consisted of a large complex of ideas, it is unlikely that John merely had one text or activity of the Messiah in mind. Rather, John probably employed from the traditions or sources to which he had access a metaphor that would succinctly summarize Jesus' dominant activities of cleansing through revelation by means of the Spirit, and that at the same time could be linked to a similar nexus of messianic ideas in Judaism.

Consequently, according to our interpretation, there is no such thing as *the* "baptism in Holy Spirit" — neither as a technical term for a "second blessing" nor as a referent merely to one single event; rather, the metaphor "to baptize with Holy Spirit" is the umbrella-term for the sum total of Jesus' soteriological activities by means of the Spirit.

46; D.A. CARSON, *The Gospel according to John* (Leicester 1991) 49-58; PAINTER, *Quest*, 103, n. 229; R. BAUCKHAM, "John for Readers of Mark", *The Gospels for All Christians. Rethinking the Gospel Audiences* (ed. R. BAUCKHAM) (Grand Rapids 1998) 147-171.

⁽⁷³⁾ C.H. DODD, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge 1963) 423-432, and this view has been adopted by many recent commentators on John, including Bultmann, Brown, Lindars, Morris and Schnackenburg.

Moreover, because salvation or judgement are dependent on one's attitude towards the Spirit-Baptizer, Jesus' activity "to baptize with Holy Spirit" is a soteriological necessity and not merely a *donum superadditum* (contra classical Pentecostalism). It is our contention that Johannine scholarship has downplayed or neglected the significance of the concept of Jesus as the Spirit-Baptizer, namely that ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ is a programmatic statement for Jesus' nexus of soteriological activities (especially of revelation and cleansing) in relation to people by means of the Spirit. Finally, if "to baptize with Holy Spirit" includes the soteriological activities of the glorified Jesus in this world until the Parousia, then this has ongoing significance for every generation of believers. "To baptize with Holy Spirit", then, does not merely involve the process or event of *entering* into salvation, which climaxes with the birth or "reception" of the Spirit, but also the process of *remaining* in salvation, in which that salvation is worked and lived out.

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SUMMARY

The various ways of understanding "baptism in the Holy Spirit" has caused much division in both academic scholarship and the church. Most theories have been based on the Synoptics and Acts, but the phrase ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ is also present in the Fourth Gospel (1,33). However, Johannine scholarship has hardly given attention to this concept. This paper will seek to establish that ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ is a programmatic statement for Jesus' nexus of soteriological activities in relation to people by means of the Spirit. "To baptize with Holy Spirit" refers to Jesus' programme of cleansing people through revelation by means of the Spirit. Moreover, this concept is rooted in Jewish messianic traditions, which were able to expect a messiah who would judge, restore and cleanse by means of his Spirit-imbued word.

**La questione della *dispositio rhetorica*
nella lettera di Paolo ai Romani:
confronto con la lettera 7 di Platone
e la lettera 95 di Seneca**

I. Il problema

Da almeno tre decenni ormai la ricerca sulla retorica antica ha fatto irruzione negli studi sul Nuovo Testamento⁽¹⁾. L'operazione è mossa da un intento lodevole, poiché con la metodologia elaborata da questa specifica scienza si cerca di meglio «penetrare nel cuore del linguaggio della rivelazione in quanto linguaggio religioso persuasivo e valutare il suo impatto nel contesto sociale della comunicazione»⁽²⁾. In effetti, a partire fin dal Gorgia platonico, la retorica viene definita essenzialmente come «artefice di persuasione (πειθοῦς δημιουργός)», in quanto la persuasione da essa perseguita è connessa «con la convinzione, non con l'insegnamento (πιστευτικῆς ἀλλ' οὐ διδασκαλικῆς)»⁽³⁾. Si può dire che, in qualche modo, la retorica ha a che fare con le tecniche della seduzione o con la logica del predatore, in quanto cerca di catturare l'adesione di un ascoltatore⁽⁴⁾. E certamente questo intendono fare anche gli scritti neotestamentari, soprattutto le lettere di Paolo. I molti teorici antichi, da Aristotele a Cicerone a Quintiliano, hanno dato forma e metodo a un'arte che al tempo delle origini cristiane costituiva la parte sostanziosa di quello che oggi chiameremmo insegnamento superio-

⁽¹⁾ Gli studi che hanno significato un giro di boa in materia di retorica applicata al Nuovo Testamento sono soprattutto quelli di G.A. KENNEDY, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill NC 1980); ID., *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill/London 1984). Come suoi immediati predecessori si possono computare A.N. WILDER, *Early Christian Rhetoric* (London 1964), e H.D. BETZ, *Galatians* (Philadelphia 1979).

⁽²⁾ Pont. Commissione Biblica, *L'interpretazione della Bibbia nella chiesa* (Città del Vaticano 1993) I,B,1.

⁽³⁾ Platone, *Gorgia* 453a, 454e-455a. L'insegnamento e la dimostrazione, invece, appartengono alla logica o alla dialettica.

⁽⁴⁾ Le due metafore sono usate da M. MEYER, *La retorica* (Bologna 1997), specie 139-144.

re⁽⁵⁾. Non c'è dubbio che, come l'odierna critica storica può aiutare a gettar luce sul *perché* e in base a quali circostanze sia stato redatto un certo scritto, così la critica retorica può aiutare a chiarire *come* quello scritto sia stato concepito e articolato. Essa infatti appartiene essenzialmente alle scienze della comunicazione, di cui a tutt'oggi costituisce ancora una parte cospicua soprattutto a livello di tecnica suasoria (come per esempio negli spot commerciali)⁽⁶⁾. Perciò la sua applicazione agli studi del Nuovo Testamento, in linea di principio, non può che essere salutata con soddisfazione, visto che i vari autori delle origini cristiane avevano appunto la preoccupazione di comunicare e di 'far passare' un messaggio piuttosto originale.

1. *Retorica ed epistolografia*

Ma c'è un problema, ed è che l'arte retorica è nata ed è per natura sua destinata a eventi di tipo orale, cioè si applica e dà forma a pronunciamenti espressi direttamente da un oratore di fronte a degli ascoltatori. È un fatto di eloquenza⁽⁷⁾. Essa quindi vale essenzialmente per i discorsi pronunciati a viva voce, i quali, secondo la notissima distinzione di Aristotele⁽⁸⁾ ripetuta ormai fino alla noia, possono essere destinati a un'audience riunita o per emettere un giudizio (genere forense, δικανικὸν γένος, rivolto a un caso passato) o per prendere una decisione (genere deliberativo, συμβουλευτικὸν γένος, rivolto al da farsi in futuro) o per sentir lodare/biasimare persone concrete o valori ideali (genere epidittico, ἐπιδεικτικὸν γένος, concernente situazioni presenti o permanenti). Se poi questi discorsi venivano scritti, lo era-

(⁵) Cf. H.-I. MARROU, *Storia dell'educazione nell'antichità* (Roma 1978) 266-268, 375-377; e più in generale A. PLEBE, *Breve storia della retorica antica* (Roma - Bari 1988); B. WICKERS, *Storia della retorica* (Bologna 1994). Una buona discussione delle singole opere prodotte dall'antichità greca e latina sulla retorica si può trovare in R.D. ANDERSON, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul* (BET 18; Kampen 1996) 29-92.

(⁶) Cf. C. MARAZZINI, *Il perfetto parlare*. La retorica in Italia da Dante a Internet (Roma 2001). In prospettiva più ampia bisognerebbe tenere conto dell'ormai classica opera di C. PERELMAN - L. OLBRECHTS-TYTECA, *Trattato dell'argomentazione*. La nuova retorica (Torino 1989).

(⁷) Quintiliano, fin dall'inizio della sua opera parla di *ratio dicendi*, «scienza o arte del dire» (*Institutio oratoria* I, proemio) e definisce la retorica stessa come «bene dicendi scientia» (II, 15,34), determinandone addirittura il fine e l'esito ultimo nel semplice «parlar bene»: «finis eius et summum est bene dicere» (II,15,38).

(⁸) *Retorica* I, 3, 1358b.

no solo per essere pronunciati pubblicamente oppure per costituire esercizi preparatori da parte di studenti (detti *progymnasmata*)⁽⁹⁾.

Orbene, per quanto riguarda gli scritti del Nuovo Testamento, succede che vari studiosi contemporanei abbiano applicato le regole della retorica alle lettere di Paolo, che per definizione non sono certo dei discorsi tenuti in pubblico. È vero che le lettere dell'Apostolo (persino il breve biglietto indirizzato a Filemone: cf. v. 2) dovevano poi essere lette pubblicamente ad alta voce davanti a una *ekklēsia*, quella radunata e ospitata di volta in volta in singole case di cristiani benestanti⁽¹⁰⁾. Sicché «la diffusa abitudine tra gli studiosi di riferirsi ai 'lettori' dovrebbe essere abbandonata come un anacronismo, poiché è assolutamente verosimile che a Roma [come altrove] ci fosse un unico lettore, essendo i destinatari solo ascoltatori»⁽¹¹⁾. Ma ciò non basta certo ad equiparare il genere epistolare a quello oratorio. Bisogna infatti tenere conto di varie ragioni contrarie⁽¹²⁾. C'è già il fatto che le assemblee cristiane destinatarie delle lettere sono composte da un piccolo numero di 'ascol-

⁽⁹⁾ «La retorica si origina nel discorso e il suo prodotto primario è un atto di discorso orale, non un testo, anche se la retorica dei diversi periodi storici può essere studiata solo attraverso dei testi» (KENNEDY, *New Testament Interpretation*, 5). Anomalo è il caso di Isocrate, maestro indiscusso di oratoria, che per un difetto di parola non pronunciò mai i suoi discorsi, anche se il suo ideale del «parlare bene», τὸ εὖ λέγειν, diventò il classico ideale dell'oratore (cf. MARROU, *Storia dell'educazione nell'antichità*, 119-121).

⁽¹⁰⁾ Cf. P.J. ACHTEMEIER, «Omne verbum sonat. The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity», *JBL* 109 (1990) 3-27; J.J. BOWEN, «The Verbal Art of the Pauline Letters: Rhetoric, Performance and Presence», *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference* (eds. S.E. PORTER – T.H. OLBRICHT) (JSNT.S 90; Sheffield 1993) 409-428.

⁽¹¹⁾ L.E. KECK, «Pathos in Romans? Mostly Preliminary Remarks», *Paul and Pathos* (eds. T.H. OLBRICHT – J.L. SUMNEY) (SBL SympS 16; Atlanta 2001) 71-96 qui 79.

⁽¹²⁾ Una ragione esterna, più generale (non direttamente concernente le lettere, ma certo valida anche per esse), ci viene insospettatamente da un successivo maestro cristiano del bel parlare e del bello scrivere come l'alessandrino Origene, il quale senza mezzi termini dichiara: «Io debbo dire che quelli i quali esaminano la posizione degli apostoli di Gesù con senno ed obiettività, debbono riconoscere che il successo col quale essi insegnavano la dottrina cristiana e sottomettevano gli uomini alla parola di Dio non poteva provenire che da una virtù divina. Perché in essi non c'era la forza dell'eloquenza e la disposizione delle frasi nel discorso secondo le dottrine dialettiche o retoriche dei Greci per poter soggiogare gli ascoltatori ... [Altrimenti] non sarebbe apparso evidente il carattere divino della parola di Gesù, se la sua parola e la sua novella si fossero fondate sulla persuasione che nasce dalla squisitezza dello stile e dalla composizione letteraria» (*Contra Celsum* I, 62; trad. A. Colonna).

tatori', e per di più essi sono generalmente disposti in partenza ad accogliere la parola dell'Apostolo o perché egli ha posto in essere le chiese stesse o perché la sua autorità è comunque riconosciuta. Inoltre, gli 'ascoltatori' di Paolo appartengono di norma ai ceti medio-bassi della società, che semmai sono più sensibili alle tecniche del pathos che a quelle del logos vero e proprio. D'altronde, Paolo stesso è conscio e dichiara apertamente di essere «inesperto nella parola benché non nella conoscenza» (2 Cor 11,6)⁽¹³⁾. E, come ha messo bene in luce Stanley Porter, salta comunque agli occhi almeno una certa differenza tra i discorsi pubblici tenuti da Paolo negli Atti degli Apostoli (dovuti alla redazione lucana) e il testo delle sue lettere, meno 'costruito' ⁽¹⁴⁾. In più, è particolarmente significativo il fatto che, mentre la forma oratoria si accontenta di essere compresa in soli tre generi (quelli citati sopra), la forma epistolare antica contava almeno ventuno tipi diversi ⁽¹⁵⁾; e di questi solo una denominazione concorda con uno dei generi retorici, il τύπος συμβουλευτικός, dove però l'aggettivo allude propriamente a un intento non tanto deliberativo quanto di semplice consiglio.

La ricerca attuale perciò, a differenza di chi agli inizi giungeva a sostenere che Paolo in realtà scrivesse dei discorsi ⁽¹⁶⁾, è molto più guardinga e reticente, quando non collocata su posizioni del tutto opposte come si legge per esempio in uno studio più recente:

Paradossalmente sono gli approcci retorici a Romani, con i loro dibattiti sul genere epidittico o deliberativo o su dove finisca l'esordio, ad essere diventati i peggiori ostacoli (*the worst offenders*) contro i criteri di intelligibilità e di forza persuasiva ⁽¹⁷⁾.

⁽¹³⁾ Questa affermazione di apparente modestia è nota al filosofo soprattutto cinico del tempo (risalendo all'opposizione di Socrate verso la capziosità dei sofisti), con cui egli «mette in evidenza la sua 'laicità retorica' (*rhetorisches Laien-tum*) per smascherare la pseudo-filosofia straripante di retorica» (H.D. BETZ, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition* [BhT 45; Tübingen 1972] 65).

⁽¹⁴⁾ Cf. S.E. PORTER, «Paul as Epistolographer and Rhetorician?», *The Rhetorical Interpretation of Scripture*. Essays from the 1996 Malibu Conference (eds. S.E. POTER – D.L. STAMPS) (JSNT.S 180; Sheffield 1999) 222-248.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Così l'epistolografo Ps.-Demetrio (secoli I a.C.-I d.C.) nei suoi *Typoi epistolikoi*, dove peraltro nel proemio non si esclude che «il tempo ne produca di più»: vedi il testo in A.J. MALHERBE, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (SBL SBS 19; Atlanta 1988) 30-41. Addirittura lo Ps.-Libanio nel secolo IV ne computerà quasi il doppio, cioè 41.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Cf. KENNEDY, *New Testament Interpretation*, 86-87.

⁽¹⁷⁾ S. MASON, ««For I am not Ashamed of the Gospel» (Rom.1.16): The Gospel and the First Readers of Romans», *Gospel in Paul*. Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for R.N. Longenecker (eds. L.A. JERVIS – P. RICHARDSON) (JSNT.S 108; Sheffield 1994) 254-287 qui 259. Vedi anche gli studi molto limi-

Posizioni più equilibrate tendono a non partire da una concezione manualistica e quindi preconcepita della strategia del testo e del suo genere retorico (metodo del «rhetorical criticism»), ma a pervenire al genere e al messaggio del testo partendo dal testo stesso, dalle sue figure stilistiche e dalla sua disposizione interna (metodo della «retorica letteraria»):

La disposizione più riuscita non è quella che segue pedantemente la criteriologia teorica, ma quella che, pur rimanendo tale, non è costretta nella gabbia della precettistica ... La preminenza non spetta alla teoria, bensì alla 'pragmatologia' dell'interlocuzione⁽¹⁸⁾.

Si parla dunque volentieri di «flessibilità» dell'arte epistolare, dicendo «forte e chiaro che ... il genere cambia in funzione delle parti della lettera (*probatio* o *exhortatio*) e non si può applicare al tutto ciò che vale per l'una o l'altra delle sue parti»⁽¹⁹⁾.

Nonostante tutte le precauzioni del caso, va ammesso che, delle tre fasi in cui nell'antichità si suddivideva la elaborazione di un discorso (cioè la *inventio* o scelta degli argomenti, la *dispositio* o strutturazione interna dell'insieme, e la *elocutio* o espressione linguistica delle idee)⁽²⁰⁾ sono fuori discussione il primo e il terzo. Infatti, qualunque testo scritto, anche se non destinato a una declamazione pubblica, deve partire da una sorta di 'inventario' dei temi da trattare, oltre che delle eventuali prove a sostegno, e deve procedere servendosi di uno stile letterario adeguato e consistente anche nell'impiego di tropi (riguardanti singole parole, per esempio la metafora) e di figure retoriche (riguardanti frasi, per esempio l'allegoria). Anzi, soprattutto questo terzo livello, quello della *elocutio* (in greco λέξις οὐ φράσις) costituisce la parte più tipica della retorica antica, in cui meglio si manifesta l'abilità dell'oratore nel padroneggiare la maggior parte delle virtualità di una lingua⁽²¹⁾. Ed è

tativi di C.J. CLASSEN, «Paulus und die antike Rhetorik», ZNW 82 (1991) 1-33; e ancor più il citato ANDERSON, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*.

⁽¹⁸⁾ A. PITTA, *Disposizione e messaggio della lettera ai Galati*. Analisi retorico-letteraria (AB 131; Roma 1992) 62. Lo stesso Autore, a proposito di Rom, riconosce che «abbiamo a che fare prima di tutto con una lettera e non con un discorso», salvo poi affermare in termini generali «la convergenza tra epistolografia e retorica» senza ulteriori precisazioni (*Lettera ai Romani* [Milano 2001] 31 e 33).

⁽¹⁹⁾ J.-N. ALETTI, «Paul et la rhétorique. Etat de la question et propositions», *Paul de Tarse. Congrès de l'ACFEB (Strasbourg, 1995)*, (éd. J. SCHLOSSER) (LD 165; Paris 1996) 27-50, qui 37 e 39.

⁽²⁰⁾ Ad esse si aggiungono in via subordinata la *memoria* e la *pronuntiatio*.

⁽²¹⁾ È sintomatico che il classico manuale di H. LAUSBERG, *Elementi di retorica* (Bologna 1969), su 262 pagine ne dedichi ben 197 alla sola *elocutio* (pp. 65-262).

fuori di ogni dubbio che Paolo ricorre più volte a queste tecniche retoriche con abilità e originalità; anzi, «è qui che probabilmente Paolo è più vicino alla tecnica retorica antica così che l'interprete è legittimato ad analizzare le sue lettere dal punto di vista retorico antico»⁽²²⁾. In ogni caso, è la sua stessa teologia ad esserne fortemente impregnata⁽²³⁾.

Ma la vera questione è se alle lettere si possano applicare tali e quali le regole della retorica, in particolare quelle concernenti la *dispositio* (in greco variamente detta *διάθεσις* o *τάξις* o anche *οἰκονομία*), intesa non tanto come collocazione delle singole parole quanto come ripartizione dell'intero discorso, le *partes orationis* (*μόρια λόγου*)⁽²⁴⁾. Secondo la precettistica manualistica, la *dispositio* è la sezione della retorica che, a differenza delle altre due (*inventio* ed *elocutio*), presenta e richiede una griglia sostanzialmente fissa nella trattazione della materia. È vero che Aristotele parlava solo di quattro parti: il proemio, la proposizione, l'argomentazione, e l'epilogo⁽²⁵⁾. Ma, poi, soprattutto sotto l'influsso della *Rhetorica ad Herennium* dello Ps.-Cicerone (= Cornificio)⁽²⁶⁾, si pervenne a una suddivisione standard in 6 parti: *exordium*, *narratio*, *propositio/partitio*, *argumentatio*, *digressio*, *peroratio*.

Un eccellente studio circa la storia e la teoria della *dispositio* nell'antichità è stato fatto da Wuellner⁽²⁷⁾. Se ne deducono almeno due acquisizioni interessanti. L'una è che fu soltanto Cicerone a teorizzare la necessità di interessarsi della *dispositio* dopo aver precisato la necessità della *inventio*, lasciando la *elocutio* al terzo posto (e poi fu lui il

(22) S.E. PORTER, «Paul of Tarsus and His letters», *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period, 330 B.C.-A.D. 400* (ed. S.E. PORTER) (Leiden 1997), 533-585 qui 578, con una buona analisi sommaria della *elocutio* nelle lettere paoline (576-584); secondo l'Autore però «non è necessario pensare che Paolo conoscesse necessariamente i nomi tecnici dei tropi o delle figure retoriche impiegate o che addirittura fosse cosciente del loro impiego» (583).

(23) Vedi in merito le belle pagine di J.-N. ALETTI, «Paul et la rhétorique», 40-49.

(24) «Nello studio della retorica paolina, nonostante l'importanza di altri settori in discussione, l'attenzione maggiore è stata data a due aspetti: il genere retorico, cioè se le lettere di Paolo siano forensi, epidittiche o deliberative, e la disposizione delle parti di un discorso» (PORTER, «Paul of Tarsus and His Letters», 541).

(25) *Retorica* III, 13, 1414b (salvo poi parlare anche della narrazione in ibid. III, 16, 1416b-1417b, ma in quanto sussunta sotto il proemio).

(26) Cf. I,3; vedi anche Quintiliano III,9,1.

(27) Cf. W. WUELLNER, «Arrangement», *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period*, 51-87.

maestro di retorica più ascoltato almeno in ambito latino, come ancora avviene negli odierni manuali di retorica)⁽²⁸⁾, mentre è molto interessante constatare che Aristotele s'interessa della *dispositio* soltanto dopo aver trattato della *elocutio*, cioè dopo aver precisato quale debba essere lo stile dell'oratore. L'altra acquisizione è che la prassi retorica non sempre coincide con la teoria e viceversa (tanto che nessuna delle orazioni dello stesso Cicerone di fatto collima con i suoi stessi precetti retorici!). In ogni caso, l'importanza della *dispositio* è stata ottimamente sottolineata da un celebre discepolo di Quintiliano, cioè Plinio il Giovane, quando scrive:

Un bell'inventario degli argomenti (*invenire praeclare*) e una magnifica presentazione (*enuntiare magnifice*) si trovano a volte anche tra i barbari, ma solo l'erudito sa disporre con proprietà (*disponere apte*) e dare varietà alle sue figure⁽²⁹⁾.

2. Verifica comparativistica su testi epistolari

Questo dunque è il punto sul tappeto, come del resto riconosceva Aletti alcuni anni fa: «Ciò che dovrebbe essere chiarito dagli studi futuri riguarda il rapporto tra epistolografia e retorica discorsiva»⁽³⁰⁾. Il vero interrogativo si può così formulare: È forse possibile trattare la lettera come se fosse un discorso? Le compete forse l'applicazione della stessa *dispositio* retorica? Alcune buone precisazioni in materia sono state fatte⁽³¹⁾. Ma le risposte a queste domande sono di norma generiche, o meglio generalizzanti, nel senso che si fa riferimento globalmente alle lettere antiche senza mai prenderne singolarmente qualcuna in seria considerazione per un esame ravvicinato del testo. Soltanto un recente studio di Reed, per quanto mi risulta, dopo aver constatato la libertà che gli epistolografi antichi si prendevano nei confronti delle tre fasi suaccennate della *inventio-dispositio-elocutio*, si è cimentato con un paio di lettere antiche: la lettera 2 di Demostene (indirizzata all'assemblea popolare ateniese, in cui il celebre oratore si difende dalle accuse di concussione rivoltegli in città) e la lettera 1 di Dionigi di Alicarnasso ad Ammeo (indirizzata a un singolo, dove il retore-storico confuta l'asserita dipendenza di Demostene dalla retorica

⁽²⁸⁾ Così nel classico manule di LAUSBERG, *Elementi di retorica*, ma anche in B. MORTARA GARAVELLI, *Manuale di retorica* (Milano 1988).

⁽²⁹⁾ Plinio il Giovane, *Ep.* 3,13,3.

⁽³⁰⁾ ALETTI, «Paul et la rhétorique», 34.

⁽³¹⁾ Cf. per esempio S. ROMANELLO, *Una legge buona ma impotente. Analisi retorico-letteraria di Rm 7,7-25 nel suo contesto* (SRivBib 35; Bologna 1999) 19-46.

di Aristotele). Lo studio di Reed dedica solo tre pagine (in realtà due scarse) per verificare concretamente come stanno le cose. La conclusione piuttosto veloce è che la flessibilità del genere poteva permettere una certa conflazione con altri generi, ma solo superficiale ⁽³²⁾; soprattutto egli afferma con un bel paragone che «il genere retorico e quello epistolare possono essere stati fidanzati, ma non si sono mai sposati» ⁽³³⁾!

Le due lettere prese in considerazione da Reed se non altro rappresentano, dal punto di vista metodologico, un passo avanti rispetto a chi emette giudizi sommari sul rapporto tra epistolografia e retorica, senza mai confrontarsi direttamente con testi epistolari precisi. L'importante invece è di verificare, come si dice, *in corpore vili* le proprie tesi per rendersi conto se e come si possa eventualmente sostenere il confronto.

Ma le due lettere prese in esame da questo Autore sono troppo brevi: ca. 1900 parole la prima, e ca. 3300 parole la seconda ⁽³⁴⁾. Volendo rigorosamente restringere il nostro esame comparativistico alla lettera ai Romani, l'operazione condotta da Reed si rivela insufficiente, non solo per l'estensione troppo esigua della sua analisi quanto soprattutto per la inadeguata ampiezza del testo epistolare considerato. La lettera paolina infatti è costituita da ben 7.100 parole. Ora, l'applicazione delle regole della *dispositio* è certamente ben più verosimile in un testo ampio, dove la materia trattata è estesa e sviluppata su di un arco espositivo tale da permettere lo svolgimento di una vera e propria argomentazione. Per fare un esempio evidentemente contrario, è sicuramente inutile voler studiare la *dispositio* in una delle lettere papiracee rinvenute in Egitto ma neanche nelle lettere *Ad familiares* di Cicerone. Occorre dunque confrontare Rom con lettere più o meno omogenee, che possano reggere il confronto già dal semplice punto di vista dell'estensione. In più, bisogna che l'argomento trattato sia non tanto di tipo personale o soltanto autobiografico, quanto piuttosto sufficientemente generale, se non proprio dottrinale, quasi si trattasse di un saggio su di uno specifico tema. Questa in effetti è la forma che spesso as-

⁽³²⁾ J.T. REED, «The Epistle», *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period*, 171-193, qui 186-190.

⁽³³⁾ Ibid., 192.

⁽³⁴⁾ In più bisogna dire che la lettera di Dionigi di Alicarnasso è priva di elementi epistolari formulari (non avendo né protocollo né escatocollo), oltre a contenere ampie citazioni di testi sia da Aristotele sia da Demostene, così da risultare un vero saggio di critica storico-retorica.

sumono le lettere antiche⁽³⁵⁾. E a questa forma, tenuto conto della sua trattazione di vasto respiro evangelico e storico-salvifico, si può in un certo senso accostare la lettera di Paolo ai Romani⁽³⁶⁾, benché non si debba sottovalutare l'importanza delle circostanze, sia quelle personali del mittente, sia quelle comunitarie dei destinatari⁽³⁷⁾.

II. La lettera 7 di Platone e la lettera 95 di Seneca

La scelta delle due lettere che ora prendiamo in considerazione si giustifica per più di un motivo. Un primo motivo, come già accennato, sta nella loro estensione, essendo entrambe le più lunghe scritte dai due autori, così come Rom è la più lunga lettera di Paolo: infatti, la lettera di Platone assomma a ca. 8.000 parole, mentre quella di Seneca ne computa poco meno di 5.000. Inoltre, la lettera di Platone viene da un autore che ha scritto anche di retorica, poiché nel *Fedro* egli si pronuncia esplicitamente sull'«arte dei discorsi» (ἡ λόγων τέχνη), mettendo in bocca a Socrate una teoria della *dispositio* che comprende il proemio (προοίμιον), la narrazione (διήγησις), le argomentazioni (τεκμήρια), le verosimiglianze (εἰκότα), la conferma e riconferma (πίστις - ἐπιπίστις) e poi uno riepilogo (ἐπάνοδος)⁽³⁸⁾. Quanto a Seneca, benché scriva in latino, è contemporaneo di Paolo e quindi in qualche modo storicamente erede alla pari di una elaborazione teorica della *dispositio* già avvenuta da tempo; inoltre, mentre è assai discutibile che Paolo abbia avuto una vera e propria formazione retorica⁽³⁹⁾, non si

⁽³⁵⁾ Cf. M.L. STIREWALT JR., «The Form and Function of the Greek Letter-Essay», *The Romans Debate*. Revised and expanded edition (ed. K.P. DONFRIED) (Edinburgh 1991) 147-171.

⁽³⁶⁾ Ciò resta vero, anche senza voler scorgere in essa un *doctrinae christianae compendium* come pretenderà Melantone. Una moderna applicazione dell'assunto secondo cui Rom è indipendente da circostanze e motivazioni esterne si trova in D.E. AUNE, «Romans as a *logos protreptikos*», *The Romans Debate*, 278-296, anche se non del tutto convincente.

⁽³⁷⁾ Cf. R. PENNA, «L'interesse per il contesto storico della lettera ai Romani da Origene ai nostri giorni», *Attualità della Lettera ai Romani* (a cura di V. SCIPPA) (Biblioteca Teologica Napoletana 24; Napoli, di imminente pubblicazione).

⁽³⁸⁾ Platone, *Fedro* 266c-267d.

⁽³⁹⁾ Lo afferma S. K. STOWERS, *A Rereading of Romans* (New Haven/London 1994) 17, mentre con maggiori motivazioni lo nega ANDERSON, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory*, 249. Vedi anche PORTER, «Paul of Tarsus and His letters», 562: «Tutt'al più, egli deve aver avuto il genere di conoscenza retorica che ogni cittadino intelligente e viaggiatore del mondo ellenistico dovrebbe aver avuto».

può certo dubitare che Seneca, scrittore per professione, l'abbia ricevuta nel modo debito⁽⁴⁰⁾.

Sarà quindi interessante rendersi conto fino a che punto l'uno e l'altro, il filosofo greco e quello romano, siano debitori delle teorie retoriche nei loro scritti epistolari.

1. Platone, Lettera 7 (323E-352A)

Tralasciamo qui il dibattito sulla sua autenticità, che sembra comunque ben risolto a suo favore⁽⁴¹⁾.

a) Il contenuto della lettera

Il suo contenuto va individuato a più livelli.

Storico: la lettera descrive più di tre decenni di storia della Sicilia (da quando Platone andò la prima volta a Siracusa nel 388 presso il tiranno Dionisio I, dove conobbe il suo giovane cognato Dione, fino all'assassinio di Dione stesso, nel quale egli aveva riposto tante speranze, avvenuto nel 354)⁽⁴²⁾.

Autobiografico: la lettera è utilissima per tracciare la figura di Platone stesso, che scrive l'anno dopo quell'assassinio (e sei anni prima della propria morte), sia per la sua biografia (quanto al dipanarsi degli avvenimenti in cui egli è stato implicato) sia per delineare la sua umanità (opposizione alla democrazia in favore della oligarchia, condanna della proliferazione di suoi supposti scritti, toni di amicizia, di prudenza...).

L'intento vero e proprio derivato dalla sua occasione e dal suo scopo: rispondere alla richiesta di un gruppo di familiari e amici di Dione perché Platone si unisse e facesse causa comune con loro (κοινωνεῖν: 323E); la risposta è che egli si unirebbe volentieri a loro, solo se essi fossero mossi «dalle stesse opinioni e intenzioni» di Dione (324A), e per questo espone loro quali fossero appunto le opinioni politiche di lui, visto che le conosce «non per congettura ma per cognizione diretta» (ib.). In realtà, lo scritto, soprattutto nella prima par-

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Lo si vede da una sua interessantissima dichiarazione, da cui si deduce pure la differenza esistente tra lettera e discorso retorico: «Allo stesso modo di come sarebbe il nostro conversare semplice e spontaneo (*sermo ... inlaboratus et facilis*) se noi fossimo seduti o passeggiassimo insieme, così voglio che siano le mie lettere, prive di ogni ricercatezza e schiette (*nihil accersitum nec fictum*) ... Mi basterebbe comunicarti le mie idee senza eleganza e senza sciatteria (*nec exornasem nec abiecissem*)» (*Epist.* 75,1-2).

⁽⁴¹⁾ Cf. G. PASQUALI, *Le lettere di Platone* (Firenze 1967) 42-131; M. ISNARDI PARENTE, *Filosofia e politica nelle lettere di Platone* (Napoli 1970); R. THURNHER, *Der Siebte Platonbrief* (Meisenheim 1975).

⁽⁴²⁾ Cf. D. MUSTI, *Storia greca* (Roma - Bari 1989) 576-580.

te, si risolve in una specie di encomio *post mortem* di Dione e delle sue opinioni politiche concernenti Siracusa e la polis in generale, del tutto conformi all'ideale platonico circa il filosofo come reggitore della polis (324B; 326B: «Mai le generazioni degli uomini avrebbero potuto liberarsi dai mali fino a che o non fossero giunti ai vertici del potere politico i filosofi veri e schietti o i governanti delle città, per un destino divino, non diventassero filosofi»). Perciò è incerto se la lettera parli più di Platone o di Dione o della migliore costituzione politica; in realtà i tre argomenti sono intrecciati.

Il procedimento: Platone struttura la sua esposizione su di una griglia di carattere cronologico-biografico, la quale a sua volta è al servizio di una dottrina politica, esemplificata appunto sulla figura di Dione.

Mancanza di omogeneità: di passaggio vi si trova una lettera di Dionisio II (339B-339C) e un lungo excursus filosofico sulla comunicabilità del sapere, se essa avvenga attraverso la definizione o attraverso l'esperienza (con una introduzione in 340B-341A e il corpo dell'exkursus in 342A-344D definito *πλάγος*, «digressione», in 344D).

È dunque evidente la complessità dello scritto, che il Momigliano definì «un tentativo notevole di combinare riflessioni su problemi eterni con esperienze personali»⁽⁴³⁾.

b) Il tipo epistolare

Il tipo epistolare è certamente 'di consiglio' o, detto nei termini sia dei generi retorici (Aristotele) sia dei tipi epistolari (Ps.-Demetrio), *συμβουλευτικός*; infatti, nei punti strategici del testo ricorrono almeno 25 volte i termini *συμβουλή* e *συμβουλεύω* (326E, 327A, 330CDE [qui 6 volte; in 330C si precisa l'oggetto: «ciò che bisogna fare», ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν], 331ABD [10 volte], 332C, 334C [2 volte], 336C, 337E, 338A, 352A). Questo tipo epistolare è certamente connesso con uno degli scopi primari della retorica, quello cioè di «persuadere»: infatti, Platone dichiara di avere cercato già prima di farlo con Dionisio e con Dione (ἐπεχείρησα ἐγὼ πείθειν), anche se il primo non gli diede ascolto (ὁ μὲν μὴ πειθόμενος) e il secondo sì (ὁ δὲ πειθόμενος) ma andando incontro a una morte nobile (334DE, τέθνηκεν καλῶς). Ora Platone cerca di farlo anche con i destinatari di questa lettera (334D: ἐμοὶ πείθεσθε).

c) La struttura o *dispositio*

A parte il prescritto («Platone ai familiari e agli amici di Dione, buone cose»), che precisa la destinazione pluralistica dello scritto, è evi-

(43) A. MOMIGLIANO, *Lo sviluppo della biografia greca* (Torino 1974) 64.

dente all'inizio una sorta di proemio o di introduzione (323E-324B), che espone la domanda dei richiedenti e la risposta sommaria di Platone. Questi, che ha conosciuto direttamente Dione, afferma di sapere quale fosse la sua reale «opinione sulla vita politica» (δόξα περὶ πολιτείας), cioè che «i Siracusani devono essere liberi e vivere secondo le leggi migliori» (Συρακοσίους δεῖν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἀρίστοις οἰκοῦντας); Platone perciò dichiara di voler esporre dettagliatamente le idee di Dione ai suoi destinatari. Proprio nelle parole citate possiamo vedere formulata quella che ben a ragione si può definire la *propositio* dell'intera esposizione. Essa regge anche il metodo di procedere da parte dello scrivente: «Cercherò di esporverla a partire dal principio» (πειράσομαι δὲ ἐξ' ἀρχῆς αὐτὴν ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς διεξελθεῖν: 324B).

Il criterio strutturale più evidente, che ci permette di percepire l'articolazione dello scritto, è di ordine cronologico, come indica fin dalle prime battute il citato complemento temporale ἐξ' ἀρχῆς. Platone infatti, cominciando dall'inizio dei suoi rapporti con Dione, insiste sui due viaggi compiuti in Sicilia, soprattutto il primo dell'anno 388 a.C. (κατ' ἀρχάς, πρῶτον: 324A, 326B, ripreso in 337E come sguardo retrospettivo alla «prima venuta», προτέρα ἄφιξις). Da 337E si comincia poi a parlare del «viaggio successivo», ὕστερα πορεία (del 366 a.C.), mentre al terzo viaggio, τὸ τρίτον, «la terza volta» (quello del 361 a.C.), si allude appena in 345D. Si delineano dunque due parti epistolari. Ed è all'interno di questa griglia narrativa che Platone espone le sue teorie politiche, collegandole al personaggio per lui prediletto che è stato Dione, sicché memorie personali e teorizzazioni sull'arte del governo si intrecciano inestricabilmente. Constatiamo poi che ciascuna delle due parti termina con una sezione direttamente 'symbuleutica', che cioè da quanto detto deduce consigli da proporre ai destinatari: rispettivamente in 336C («Ora vi consiglio di imitare Dione», νῦν δὲ ... μιμεῖσθαι συμβουλεύω Δίονα ὑμῖν) e in 352A («Ciò che vi consiglio dopo le cose appena dette», τὰ δὴ μετὰ τὰ νῦν ῥηθέντα ἅ ξυμβουλεύω).

Ecco dunque la *dispositio* della lettera.

I. Il primo viaggio di Platone in Sicilia: 324B-337E.

I.1. Racconto dei fatti e riflessioni su di essi: 324B-336B

— 324B-326B, i precedenti del viaggio: i rivolgimenti ad Atene tra la fine del V secolo e gli inizi del IV (dalla tirannia dei Trenta alla democrazia con l'uccisione di Socrate; Platone, privo di riferimenti politici sicuri, è costretto a incentrarsi sulla retta filosofia, «da cui solo può venire la capacità si scorgere ciò che è giusto nella vita pubblica e in quella privata»);

— 326B-E, arrivo in Italia e constatazione della vita «che qui si diceva felice, tutta impegnata nei famosi banchetti italioti e siracusani, nel riempirsi il ventre due volte al giorno...», a cui si accompagna un duro giudizio: «Nessun uomo di quanti vivono sotto la volta del cielo può diventare saggio, se si avvezza fin dalla più tenera età ad abitudini simili»;

— 327A-329B: il rapporto di Platone con Dione e la maturazione di quest'ultimo verso alti ideali filosofico-politici. Dione «manifestò senz'altro il proponimento di vivere per il resto della vita in modo diverso dalla massa degl'italiotti e dei siceliotti, dal momento che aveva concepito per la virtù un amore superiore a quello per il piacere e la vita dissoluta» (327B), «aveva ferme speranze che in tutto il paese si potesse stabilire un regime di vita felice a autentico, senza uccisioni, senza morti...» (327D); Platone intuisce che «era quella la volta buona che si compisse la speranza che i filosofi assumessero in prima persona il ruolo di reggitori di città importanti» (328A), e perciò si reca in Sicilia anche per far passare il suo pensiero politico dalle parole ai fatti, vergognandosi di essere capace solo di parole (328B-329B);

— 329B-336B, la deprecabile sorte di Dione: Dione è accusato presso Dionisio di congiurare ai suoi danni e viene esiliato (329B-333C); inutilità di dare consigli a chi non vuole accettarli, poiché Dionisio avrebbe potuto farsi amico Dione (come aveva fatto Dario in Persia e come fece Atene con varie città, assicurandosi il proprio dominio); Dionisio invece non disponeva di amici di cui potersi fidare. Poiché Dione tornò poi a Siracusa da Atene portando con sé degli amici ateniesi che lo tradirono uccidendolo, Platone difende il buon nome della cittadinanza ateniese (333D-334C). La lezione che ne trae è di «non asservire la Sicilia sotto uomini padroni né sotto altro Stato, ma sotto leggi» (334C), sapendo che «quando si nutre l'aspirazione a ciò che è bene in assoluto, è retto e bello andare incontro a qualunque sofferenza» (334E); segue un piccolo excursus sull'anima immortale che dovrà essere giudicata e che perciò non deve cedere ai piaceri delle bestie (334E-335B); queste cose Platone aveva insegnato a Dione, il quale non avrebbe adottato nessun'altra forma di governo se non quella della «saggezza guidata dalla giustizia» (335D) poiché era un uomo «giusto, coraggioso, saggio e filosofo» (336A); invece qualche *démo*ne ha rovinato tutto (336B).

I.2. I consigli che se ne traggono: 336C-337E

Platone consiglia i destinatari a imitare Dione nel suo amore per la patria e nel suo saggio tenore di vita per portare a compimento i suoi progetti: non chiamare al governo chi non sa vivere secondo le tradizioni degli antenati, ma tutti gli altri; non avere paura di Atene; rendersi conto che nelle guerre civili non c'è mai fine ai mali; farsi legislatori di leggi comuni a tutti in modo tale che i vincitori si facciano vedere sottoposti alle leggi ancor più dei vinti, poiché solo allora ci sarà «felicità e salvezza» (337D: σωτηρία τε καὶ εὐδαιμονία). Esortazione conclusiva: «Provateci voi ora a realizzare tali progetti con miglior esito, aiutati dalla buona sorte e dalla benevolenza divina» (337E: ὑμεῖς

πειρᾶσθε...ἀγαθῇ μοίρᾳ καὶ θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ). Conclusione: «Questo è il mio consiglio e la mia disposizione, e questo è il resoconto della mia prima venuta da Dionisio» (ib.).

II. Il secondo e terzo viaggio di Platone in Sicilia: 337E-352A.

II.1. Racconto dei fatti e riflessioni su di essi: 337E- 351E

— 337E-340A: triplice invito rivolto a Platone di tornare a Siracusa da parte di Dionisio II, che sembrava ben disposto verso la filosofia; Platone rifiuta adducendo la sua condizione di «vecchio» (γεῖρων), ma la terza volta Dionisio manda una trireme a prenderlo ad Atene, insieme a una lettera (accompagnata da altre di Archita di Taranto) in cui promette che se fosse venuto si sarebbe risolta positivamente anche la situazione di Dione esiliato;

— 340B-342A: a Siracusa Platone intende mettere alla prova Dionisio per vedere se davvero era «infiammato dalla filosofia». Il modo per farlo è di mostrare quanta fatica occorre per diventare ed essere filosofi (ὅσον πόνον ἔχει: 340B), perché chi è dedito alla mollezza non vi si adegua. In seguito, Platone sentì dire che Dionisio aveva scritto su queste cose, come se fossero cose sue. E qui Platone protesta: «Non esiste nessun mio scritto sull'argomento né mai esisterà» poiché «non si tratta assolutamente di un argomento che sia lecito insegnare come gli altri, ma solo dopo lunga frequentazione e convivenza con il suo contenuto esso si manifesta all'improvviso nell'anima come una luce che subitamente si accende da un fuoco» (341CD). Platone perciò afferma che i suoi insegnamenti sono riservati non alla massa ma a pochissimi.

— 342A-344D: è un lungo excursus sul λόγος ἀληθής inteso come dottrina specifica di Platone. Ci sono tre gradi per accedere alla conoscenza di un essere: il nome, la definizione, l'immagine, e infine appunto la conoscenza (ὄνομα, λόγος, εἶδωλον, ἐπιστήμη / νοῦς); solo quest'ultima si avvicina maggiormente all'essere per affinità e somiglianza (ξυγγενεῖα καὶ ὁμοιότητι), ma si arriva alla loro chiarificazione «attraverso la debolezza del linguaggio» (διὰ τὸ τῶν λόγων ἀσθενές: 342E), e perciò è un rischio affidarsi a questo mezzo, soprattutto se si tratta di uno scritto, che è immobile; d'altronde l'anima cerca di conoscere non «il come» ma «il che» (οὐ τὸ ποῖον, τὸ δὲ τί), anche se ognuno dei quattro elementi porta davanti ad essa quello che essa non cerca; perciò non bastano né la predisposizione ad apprendere né la memoria, se non c'è una affinità di fondo con le cose, e viceversa; dato che «menzogna e verità» si mescolano insieme, delle cose serie non bisogna scrivere per non esporle all'incomprensione, e dunque quando si vedono degli scritti bisogna concludere che si tratta di cose non di grande serietà.

— 344D-345C: le cose dette nell'exkursus vengono applicate a Dionisio, che, se ha scritto qualcosa in materia, è segno che non ha capito; ma se le riteneva degne dell'educazione di un'anima libera, come mai è giunto al disprezzo del maestro di tali dottrine?

— 345C-347E: come Dionisio si è comportato nei confronti di Dione e dei suoi beni. Con un cavillo giuridico Dionisio stabilì che i beni di Dione esiliato in Peloponneso non erano più suoi ma del figlio, così da poterne disporre egli stesso. Platone, vedendo che la precedente pro-

messa non era mantenuta, intende tornare ad Atene. Dionisio allora vuole trattenerlo con sé, promettendogli di restituire a Dione i suoi beni, a condizione che non congiurasse più contro di lui e che di ciò Platone fosse garante. Il giorno dopo Platone gli risponde che sarebbe stato necessario scrivere a Dione presentandogli questo tipo di accordo per chiedere il suo parere. Ma Dionisio vende tutte le sostanze di Dione.

— 347E-350B: il caso della ribellione dei soldati per la decisione di Dionisio di diminuire la paga ai mercenari con maggiore anzianità, e contrasti con Eraclida che ne sembrò il sobillatore; disaccordo di Dionisio con Platone, che simpatizzava con chi aveva tentato di difendere Eraclida.

— 350B-E: ritorno di Platone in Grecia e suo incontro con Dione, che vuole preparare la vendetta contro Dionisio. Platone acconsente che Dione si faccia aiutare dai suoi amici ma personalmente si disassocia («Finché desiderate il male, chiamate qualcun altro»: 350D).

— 351A-E: elogio conclusivo di Dione, qualificato come uomo misurato (μέτριος), diverso da Dionisio che era meschino e incapace di dominarsi, dilapidatore di sostanze altrui, essendo invece egli amante delle leggi più giuste e migliori, «uomo santo circondato da empi, saggio e assennato» (ὁστος ἄνθρωπος ἀνοσίων περί, σώφρων τε καὶ ἔμφορον). Come un buon pilota di nave, che non viene colto di sorpresa dall'avvicinarsi della tempesta, ma non può certo prevederne l'intensità e deve soccombere alla sua improvvisa violenza, così «Dione fallì perché non gli era nascosto quanto fossero malvagi coloro che lo rovinarono, ma non riuscì a rendersi conto quanto profonde fossero la loro cattiveria e voracità» (351DE).

II.2. I consigli che se ne traggono: 352A

Platone rimanda brevemente e semplicemente a ciò che ha già detto: «Se quel che ho detto è apparso ragionevole a qualcuno..., ci sembrerà misurato e sufficiente quel che ho appena finito di esporre, τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα». Il testo epistolare tramandato finisce qui, senza una formula di saluto.

2. Seneca, Lettera 95 a Lucilio.

È la più lunga delle lettere di Seneca, ed egli stesso la definisce *ingens epistula* (95,3).

a) Il contenuto della lettera

Il contenuto della lettera è di tipo filosofico-speculativo, tale da accostarla più che mai al genere odierno del saggio ⁽⁴⁴⁾, anche se più pro-

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Vi si trovano per esempio le caratteristiche individuate in materia dal citato STIREWALT JR., «The Greek Letter-Essay», 171, secondo cui il mittente riconosce, sì, il proprio rapporto con il destinatario, ma il tema trattato nella lettera coinvolge essenzialmente una terza parte.

priamente essa andrebbe definita di genere protrettico ⁽⁴⁵⁾. La trattazione che la caratterizza suppone e si spiega solo in base alla lettera precedente, la 94, da cui dipende in quanto ne è la ripresa e la prosecuzione logica. Il punto di partenza (di entrambe le epistole) si trova enunciato là, all'inizio della 94, ed è fornito dalla tesi sostenuta da alcuni, secondo cui basterebbe quel tipo di filosofia che dà solo precetti particolari per la vita di ciascuno senza interessarsi di formare l'uomo nel suo insieme (*ea pars philosophiae quae dat propria cuique personae praecepta nec in universum componit hominem*: 94,1). In proposito, senza formulare una vera e propria *propositio* in senso retorico, Seneca vi formula due questioni di principio (*duas questiones* 94,5): cioè, se i precetti particolari siano utili o inutili (94,5-51) e se la filosofia precettistica basti da sola a formare l'uomo saggio. La trattazione di questa seconda questione viene rimandata a un altro momento (*huic questioni suum diem dabimus*: 94,52), che è fornito appunto dalla lettera 95. Frattanto, in tutta la sezione epistolare rimanente (94,52-74), egli risponde a una domanda interlocutoria: se non sia comunque necessario l'intervento di qualcuno che dia precetti contrari alla mentalità della folla. La risposta è positiva, perché è l'opinione corrente della folla che ci inquina, conducendoci alla corruzione della fama e del potere (con gli esempi di Alessandro Magno, Gneo Pompeo, Giulio Cesare, Caio Mario), mentre la natura di per sé ci ha generati incorrotti e liberi (*integros ac liberos genuit*); quindi è a questa che bisogna tornare, e per questo occorre sempre qualcuno che ci ammonisca, un *monitor* (94,72).

b) La struttura o *dispositio* del testo

La lettera 95 riprende e tratta quella che nella lettera precedente (in 94,4 e 52) era stata prospettata come seconda questione. Essa viene ora riformulata così: «Se quella parte della filosofia che i Greci chiamano *paraenetica* e noi *praeceptiva* basti a rendere perfetta la sapienza» (95,1: *ad consummandam sapientiam*) ⁽⁴⁶⁾. Questa formulazione della frase costituisce dunque la ripresa tematica di una dichiarazione d'intenti, che era stata enunciata addirittura in uno scritto precedente. Ma, poiché già là è ben difficile parlare di una *propositio* vera e pro-

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Sulla definizione di questo genere, cf. la nota seguente.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ La distinzione fra protrettica e parenesi, intese come due parti della filosofia, sta nel fatto che la prima «fornisce argomenti generali per cambiare la condotta di qualcuno» mentre la seconda «consiste in una serie di norme concrete di condotta» (D.M. SCHENKEVELD, «Philosophical Prose», *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric*, 195-264 qui 204).

pria, altrettanto qui essa di fatto manca, essendo l'argomento per di più espresso in forma dubitativa. Essa semmai risulta semplicemente dall'opposizione alla tesi contraria, e lo è tante volte quante questa viene ripetuta e confutata.

Quanto al criterio strutturante, dunque, osserviamo appunto che Seneca procede confrontandosi ripetutamente con la tesi opposta, la quale viene richiamata cinque volte (in termini impersonali: *inquiunt*: 95,4; *inquit*: 95,6.7.13; *quidam*: 95,36). Il tono quindi è assertorio ma su di una base chiaramente polemica. Adottando questo criterio argomentativo, l'esposizione risulta strutturalmente irregolare, anche se la ripetizione dell'argomento quasi a cerchi concentrici le conferisce una sempre maggiore solidità.

Ecco dunque la struttura della lettera.

L'autore, dopo aver richiamato l'argomento in forma di *quaestio*, comincia con un «proemio» (*principium*: 95,4), in cui si dà subito una secca risposta negativa, scherzando sul fatto che forse Lucilio non se l'aspettava e che quindi non bisogna chiedere ciò che non si gradisce ottenere.

I. Quintuplice esposizione della tesi in opposizione a quella contraria: 95,4-64

95,4-5: a chi sostiene che la vita felice consiste in azioni rette e che a queste conducono proprio i precetti, Seneca obietta che non sempre i precetti conducono ad azioni rette, ma solo quando l'animo li favorisce (*cum obsequens ingenium est*).

95,6: a chi sostiene che il comportamento onesto deriva dai precetti, i quali perciò sono più che sufficienti a dare la felicità, Seneca risponde che l'onestà dipende anche dai precetti ma non solo da essi (*non tantum praeceptis*).

95,7-12: a chi sostiene che se alle arti bastano i precetti, questi basteranno anche alla saggezza, Seneca risponde precisando, doppiamente, che alcune arti hanno per oggetto solo strumenti per la vita (come saper girare il timone di una nave) e non la vita considerata nella sua totalità, e che in certe arti un errore conscio è meno grave di uno inconscio (come nel caso di un letterato), mentre nella vita è più vergognosa la colpa di chi manca volontariamente. In più va riconosciuto che tutte le arti sono guidate non solo da precetti ma anche da principi fondamentali (*habent decreta sua, non tantum praecepta*) come la medicina; le arti speculative poi, come la filosofia, hanno «i propri principi, che i Greci chiamano *dogmata* e noi possiamo chiamare *decreta* o *scita* o *placita*» (95,10). Qui si cita un brano di Lucrezio [*De rerum natura* I 54-57, sui principi primi dell'universo] per dire che «nessuno farà adeguatamente ciò che deve fare se non avrà appreso la norma (*ratio*) in base a cui compiere sempre il proprio dovere, ma non potrà compierlo se avrà ricevuto precetti su di un solo dettaglio e non

sull'insieme, poiché i precetti particolari sono di per sé deboli e, per così dire, senza radice» (95,12: *Imbecilla sunt per se et, ut ita dicam, sine radice quae partibus dantur*).

95,13-35: la posizione contraria subito esposta sostiene che gli uomini erano migliori con la sapienza antica, la quale insegnava solo ciò che bisogna fare o evitare, mentre oggi «da quando sono comparsi i dotti, i buoni non s'incontrano più», poiché «ci si insegna solo a discutere, non a vivere» (*postquam docti prodierunt, boni desunt ... docemurque disputare, non vivere*). La risposta di Seneca è molto articolata e consiste fondamentalmente nel dire che la vita odierna è molto più complessa e peggiorata così da esigere forme nuove di rimedio. Egli procede dedicando prima un lungo paragrafo alla medicina (95,15-29a), in cui dipinge un quadro vivace delle raffinatezze a cui è giunta la società del suo tempo, che però in tal modo ha moltiplicato le malattie, oltre a lamentare che lo studio delle arti liberali venga disertato mentre i giovani si accalcano nelle cucine e nei ritrovi degli scialacquatori (cf. 95,23); perciò la medicina è costretta a provvedersi di molte specie di cure. Specularmente la filosofia deve far fronte a una grave corruzione dei costumi, sicché ciò che in privato è considerato un crimine (come l'omicidio) in pubblico diventa legittimo (la strage di popoli o l'uccisione di un uomo per fare spettacolo): «In tanta perversità di costumi si richiede qualche mezzo più efficace di quelli soliti...: occorre adoperare principi fondamentali per estirpare errori profondamente radicati» (95,34: *Decretis agendum est ut revellatur penitus falsorum recepta persuasio*); in pratica, bisogna gettare i primi fondamenti per condurre alla virtù, che va amata quasi con un culto superstizioso.

95,36-64: la sezione epistolare più ampia parte dall'obiezione secondo cui alcuni uomini sono divenuti grandi senza avere appreso sottili principi ma solo obbedendo a nudi precetti (95,36). Anche qui Seneca risponde in maniera molto articolata. Non nega che certi uomini abbiano ottenuto in sorte una singolare disposizione d'animo, ma i principi della filosofia (*philosophiae placita*) da una parte condurranno più rapidamente alla virtù coloro che vi sono inclini e dall'altra aiuteranno i più deboli a liberarsi dalle cattive opinioni condizionate o dalla lentezza o dalla temerarietà. In effetti, «chi è buono per caso non dà garanzie di esserlo per sempre» (*Non promittet se talem in perpetuum qui bonus casu est*: 39); d'altronde «il merito non consiste nell'azione compiuta ma nel modo di compierla» (*Quidem non in facto laus est sed in eo quemadmodum fiat*: 40), come si vede in chi assiste un malato: l'azione in sé merita lode, ma se uno lo fa perché attirato da un'eredità è solo un avvoltoio che aspetta un cadavere. «Bisogna dunque imprimere nell'animo una salda persuasione che serva per tutta la vita, e questa appunto è ciò che io chiamo principio fondamentale» (*Ergo infigi debet persuasio ad totam pertinens vitam, hoc est quod decretum voco*: 44), così come i naviganti dirigono la rotta guardando a qualche stella. Da questo principio fluiranno le azioni e i pensieri, e di qui la vita intera.

Seneca poi procede distinguendo e dettagliando in tre parti la ma-

teria dell'insegnamento necessario, quella che appunto riguarda i principi fondamentali:

— come devono essere venerati gli dèi (95,47-50), dove egli enuncia principi tipicamente stoici in senso intellettualistico: *deum colit qui novit*: 47), e riprende la tradizionale concezione stoica dell'*eusebeia* (95,50, dove riecheggia Crisippo [cf. Arnim II 1017] da cui dipenderà anche Epitteto [*Ench.* 31,1]);

— come dobbiamo comportarci con gli uomini (95,51-53): poiché è impossibile esporre tutto ciò che si deve fare o evitare, basta insegnare la seguente norma (*formulam*) a cui ognuno deve attenersi nel compimento del suo dovere: «Tutto ciò che vedi, in cui è racchiuso il divino e l'umano, costituisce un'unità; siamo membra di un grande corpo. La natura ci ha generati parenti ... siamo nati per vivere insieme» (*Omne quod vides, quo divina atque humana conclusa sunt, unum est; membra sumus corporis magni. Natura nos cognatos edidit ... in commune nati sumus*: 52s), con citazione del famoso verso: «Sono un uomo, e nulla di umano ritengo a me estraneo» (*Homo sum, umani nihil a me alienum puto* [Terenzio, *Heautontimoroumenos* 77]) per dire che è peggio offendere che essere offesi (con richiamo al Socrate di Platone, *Gorgia* 508CD) e che le nostre mani devono essere sempre pronte a soccorrere i bisognosi;

— come dobbiamo comportarci con le cose (95,54-59), cioè con la povertà e la ricchezza, la gloria e l'ignominia, la patria e l'esilio. Qui il principio è che «la serenità riguarda solo coloro che sono in possesso di un costante e sicuro criterio di giudizio» (*immutabile certumque iudicium* 57); infatti, l'azione (*actio*) non sarà retta se non lo sarà già la volontà (*voluntas*), ma questa non sarà retta se non lo sarà già la disposizione dell'animo (*habitus animi*), ma questo a sua volta non sarà retto se non avrà conosciuto le leggi di tutta quanta la vita (*totius vitae leges*). Opposizione tra pubblica opinione (*fama*) e verità (*vera*).

Al termine di questa prima parte (95,60-64), Seneca controbatte la logica dei suoi antagonisti dicendo che chi sostiene la sufficienza dei precetti per regolare la vita enuncia già comunque un principio fondamentale (*decretum*). Egli poi adduce un paragone interessante, quello del rapporto tra le mani e il cuore, per dire che i precetti sono manifesti, mentre i principi della sapienza sono occulti: ma «la ragione non si accontenta di ciò che è evidente, poiché la parte più lodevole e bella della sua attività sta nell'indagine di ciò che è nascosto» (*Ratio autem non impletur manifestis: maior eius pars pulchriorque in occultis est*: 61), allo stesso modo di ciò che avviene nelle religioni dei misteri.

II. Conclusione sulla necessità della precettistica, soprattutto sulla base di esempi da imitare: 95,65-72

Quasi in forma di appendice e integrando quanto detto sulla necessità dei principi generali, Seneca aggiunge una breve sezione in cui afferma quasi come concessione la pari necessità delle prescrizioni (*praeceptio*). L'argomento si giustifica per il fatto di aver detto di passaggio poco prima che sono necessarie entrambe le cose (*utrumque iungamus*), poiché le radici prive dei rami sono inutili (96,64).

Seneca parte da un richiamo a Posidonio, che giudica necessaria

l'arte di dar consigli, di confortare ed esortare, al cui scopo è molto utile quella che egli chiamava 'etologia', cioè la descrizione di ogni virtù attraverso la proposizione di modelli; perciò «mettiamo davanti agli occhi azioni meritevoli e non mancheranno imitatori» (*Proponamus laudanda, invenietur imitator*: 66). Vengono perciò proposti alcuni esempi, poiché non basta dire come devono essere i *boni viri* ma occorre anche raccontare come essi si sono comportati: seguono così alcune figure, di cui la principale è quella di Catone (Uticense), delineato con i tratti che servono a Virgilio [*Georgiche* III75-81.83-85] per descrivere un puledro di razza, poiché egli si oppose sia a Cesare sia a Pompeo (95,68-72a); si menzionano poi di sfuggita «la sapienza di Lelio e l'intima amicizia col suo Scipione (l'Emiliano), le nobili azioni compiute dall'altro Catone (il Censore) in patria e fuori, e i letti di legno di Tuberone» (95,72). La lettera 95 si chiude di fatto sulla menzione di questo uomo pressoché sconosciuto e quasi con una dossologia a lui rivolta: personaggio certamente secondario, egli però è lodevole agli occhi di Seneca per aver preparato divani di legno e stoviglie di terracotta in occasione di un festoso banchetto imbandito per Scipione l'Africano, così che «in quel giorno il popolo romano vide la suppellettile di molti, ma ammirò quella di uno solo. L'oro e l'argento degli altri è stato spezzato e fuso mille volte, ma i vasi di terra di Tuberone dureranno per tutti i secoli» (95,73). *Vale!*

III. Epistolografia e retorica

Dall'analisi delle due lettere, anche solo come impressione generale, risulta con sufficiente chiarezza che i due ambiti si toccano appena di striscio. Ma vediamo di formulare con maggiore precisione un paio di considerazioni.

(1) Innanzitutto è innegabile che elementi propri della retorica si possono rinvenire qua e là. Ma bisogna distinguere: alcuni di essi sono simili, altri soltanto apparenti, altri ancora sono contrari.

Simile, almeno nella lettera di Platone, è certamente il fatto che essa incominci con una sorta di proemio, in cui si fa riferimento all'occasione dello scritto (323E-324A), e persino con una dichiarazione d'intenti del tutto analoga a una *propositio* (324AB). La seconda parte della lettera, poi, inizia col richiamare lo schema cronologico (337E) dichiarato fin da principio, così ripetendo in qualche modo non tanto la *propositio* d'avvio quanto il metodo espositivo là precisato.

Soltanto apparente, però, nella stessa lettera è la *narratio* iniziale, che non ha nulla della *dispositio* retorica, visto che 'narrativo' è lo schema portante dell'intero scritto benché regga una disquisizione di carattere politico. Solo apparente, inoltre, è il genere esplicitamente 'symbolautico' della stessa lettera 7 di Platone, dove il testo epistolare sem-

brerebbe avvicinarsi all'analogo genere retorico dei discorsi. C'è però una differenza fondamentale tra i due, ed è che, mentre il genere retorico dei discorsi prevede di norma un uditorio assembleare, quello epistolografico secondo le parole stesse dello Ps.-Demetrio prevede soltanto un destinatario individuale. È vero che la lettera di Platone è indirizzata non a un individuo bensì a un gruppo di persone, ed è pur vero che essa tratta sostanzialmente di materia politica; ma, a parte il fatto che non è comunque indirizzata a un'assemblea di governo, in essa c'è pure qualcosa che si avvicina al tipo epistolare detto dallo Ps.-Demetrio φιλικός, «amichevole»⁽⁴⁷⁾. In questo caso, come precisa il nostro epistolografo, si può adottare un tono confidenziale sulla base del semplice fatto che «spesse volte chi è in posizione preminente scrive in modo amichevole a chi è sottoposto e anche ad altri che sono uguali, ... a volte anche se non si conoscono (direttamente); e fanno così, non perché entrambe le parti siano amici stretti, ma perché si ritiene che nessuno si opponga a chi scrive in modo amichevole». La qualifica di συμβουλευτικός riconoscibile alla lettera di Platone, dunque, non riguarda un genere retorico ma un tipo epistolare.

Del tutto contrari invece sono altri elementi, come si vede soprattutto nello scritto di Seneca. Qui la *propositio* del tema dibattuto nella lettera 95 è addirittura formulata nella precedente lettera 94,52, dove appunto si annuncia il rimando dell'argomento a un momento successivo. Eppure, la sua distanza non fa minimamente problema allo scrivente: «Avevo detto che si doveva differire la trattazione» (95,1: *dixeram debere differri repraesentem*). In più, all'inizio della nuova lettera, Seneca formula la questione non in termini tetici ma interrogativi, come una vera e propria *quaestio* filosofica. In questo caso abbiamo contemporaneamente una affinità ma anche una dissomiglianza rispetto a ciò che la retorica stabilisce in materia, come si legge in Quintiliano: «Le questioni sono o infinite o finite. Sono infinite quelle che possono essere sostenute o confutate senza riferimenti a persone, tempi, luoghi o altre circostanze analoghe; i Greci le chiamano θέσεις, Cicerone proposizioni (*propositum*), altri questioni universali di ordine civile, altri ancora questioni di portata filosofica (*quaestiones philosopho convenientes*) ... Finite invece sono quelle che implicano dei fatti, delle persone, delle circostanze e altro; i Greci le chiamano ὑποθέσεις e noi cause»⁽⁴⁸⁾.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ PORTER, «Paul of Tarsus and His Letters», 568, lamenta il fatto che, nonostante l'ampio arco di etichettature di tipi epistolari fornite dagli epistolografi antichi, i commentatori di Paolo non ne facciano grande uso.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Quintiliano, III,5,5-7.

L'affinità sta nel concetto stesso di *quaestio* e nella sua modalità «infinita». La dissomiglianza sta nel fatto che Seneca non solo non impiega il termine, ma soprattutto la sua enunciazione non consiste positivamente in una tesi vera e propria bensì in un quesito (introdotto dalla congiunzione interrogativa *an*), mentre in forma tetica sono formulate per cinque volte solo le posizioni avverse a cui il filosofo oppone ovviamente la sua.

(2) Che epistolografia e retorica non siano semplicemente sovrapponibili è ammesso dagli stessi retori antichi. Mi riferisco a quelle dichiarazioni, in base alle quali essi stessi, che pur sono i teorici che sistematizzano le regole del discorso in maglie apparentemente ferree, concedono poi di fatto che le loro regole non siano affatto imprescindibili nella costruzione del discorso stesso, nel senso che chiunque componga un ragionamento o abbia qualcosa da esporre segue comunque quelle norme anche senza saperlo. Ciò è attestato addirittura nei due massimi sistematizzatori della retorica, Aristotele e Quintiliano, con riferimento rispettivamente alla retorica in generale e a un suo dettaglio in particolare.

Già Aristotele, addirittura nell'*incipit* della sua famosa opera, scrive con tutto il candore possibile:

La retorica è analoga alla dialettica: entrambe riguardano oggetti che, in certo modo, è proprio di tutti gli uomini conoscere (ἃ κοινὰ ... ἀπάντων ἐστὶ γνωρίζειν) e non di una scienza specifica (καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιστήμης ἄφορισμένης). Perciò tutti partecipano in certo modo a entrambe (διὸ καὶ πάντες τρόπον τινὰ μετέχουσιν ἀμφοῖν); tutti infatti sino a un certo punto si occupano di indagare su qualche tesi e di sostenerla, di difendersi e di accusare. Senonché la maggior parte lo fa spontaneamente (εἰκῇ), mentre alcuni lo fanno per una abitudine che proviene da esperienza (ἀπὸ ἔξεως). Poiché sono possibili entrambe le cose, è evidente che anche in questa materia si può delineare un metodo⁽⁴⁹⁾.

Analogamente Quintiliano si esprime a proposito della *propositio* trattando della disposizione globale del discorso: «Chi mai è tanto inesperto, chi è tanto alieno dalla cultura da non incominciare in questo modo, anche se non sapesse nemmeno che cosa sia una *propositio*?»⁽⁵⁰⁾.

Si deduce di qui non che gli incolti seguano regole diverse nel-

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Aristotele, *Rettorica* I,1,1354a.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Quintiliano, VII,1,46 (*Quis tam imperitus, quis tam procul a litteris quin sic incipiat, etiam si nescierit quid sit propositio?*); l'ammissione è fatta all'interno di un capitolo interamente dedicato alla *dispositio* altrimenti detta anche *divisio* o *distributio* (ib. VII,1,1-64) e avendo comunque come punto di riferimento il discorso giudiziale.

l'ordinamento del loro parlare rispetto a chi ha ricevuto una formazione specifica, ma al contrario che la codificazione delle specifiche regole retoriche non fa altro che raccogliere e formalizzare le tecniche del dire, che sono comuni a tutti. La retorica infatti verte semplicemente sull'evento generale della comunicazione interumana.

Benché la retorica sia colorata dalle tradizioni e convenzioni proprie della società a cui appartiene, essa è anche un fenomeno universale, condizionato dalle operazioni basilari della mente e del cuore umani e dalla natura di ogni società umana. L'obiettivo di Aristotele nello studiare la sua *Retorica* non era quello di descrivere la retorica greca, ma di descrivere questa universale sfaccettatura della comunicazione umana ... È perfettamente possibile utilizzare le categorie aristoteliche per studiare l'arte del discorso in Cina, in India, in Africa e in ogni altra parte del mondo, dove pur ci sono culture molto più diversificate da quella greca di quanto fosse diversa quella della Palestina al tempo dell'impero romano. Ciò che è unico nella retorica greca e che la rende utile nel lavoro critico è il grado della sua concettualizzazione; i Greci diedero dei nomi alle tecniche retoriche, di cui molte si trovano in ogni parte del mondo⁽⁵¹⁾.

Con queste parole, in sostanza, si giunge a dire che è la scienza retorica a dipendere dall'evento vivo della parola, non il contrario. E ciò significa dunque che chi parla o scrive non parte necessariamente da una dotta codificazione di regole retoriche prestabilite, ma semplicemente da una necessità logica naturale, primaria; sicché, anche chi studia i testi letterari (antichi) non deve forzosamente prendere le mosse da uno schema di regole prefissate, ma fin dove è possibile deve semplicemente scoprire e tenere nella dovuta considerazione la *forma mentis et loquela* propria e magari personalissima del singolo autore in oggetto. Ed è come dire che, per fortuna, la vita precede la grammatica!

IV. La lettera ai Romani

1. La dispositio generale della lettera

Se c'è una cosa chiara e persino lapalissiana, dunque elementare, di cui prendere atto a proposito della lettera di Paolo ai Romani, come anche delle altre da lui scritte, è che essa appartiene al genere epistolare⁽⁵²⁾. Nulla di più evidente sul piano formale! Ebbene, dovreb-

⁽⁵¹⁾ KENNEDY, *New Testament Interpretation*, 10-11.

⁽⁵²⁾ Non prendiamo qui in considerazione il complesso problema dell'identità dei destinatari e tanto meno quello delle motivazioni per cui la lettera venne scritta.

be essere altrettanto ovvio trarre da questa evidenza le conclusioni più corrette. Come in tutte le lettere dell'antichità, anche in questa si distinguono in termini generalissimi tre sezioni formali: un'apertura (formata da un prescritto ed eventualmente da un ringraziamento post-protocollore o comunque da una introduzione), un corpo centrale, e una chiusura (con eventuali notizie e i saluti finali). Queste sezioni sono proprie dell'epistolografia e vanno rispettate nella loro specifica identità epistolare; cosicché, per esempio, voler includere la prima delle tre sezioni sotto il titolo di *exordium* al modo della retorica dei discorsi costituisce una palese forzatura, se non addirittura una sorta di stupro⁽⁵³⁾.

D'altronde, trattandosi di una lettera molto ampia e dall'andamento quasi saggistico, è evidente che l'interesse maggiore deve vertere sulla sezione centrale, cioè sul corpo epistolare, poiché lì viene sviluppata l'argomentazione vera e propria che sta a cuore al mittente. Certo non vanno sottovalutate le altre due sezioni di cornice, tanto più che esse, confrontate per esempio con le due lettere di Platone e di Seneca esaminate sopra, rivestono una particolare importanza per lo spessore e la consistenza che quelle non hanno. Ma, al pari di quelle, è il corpo centrale la sezione più interessante, a motivo del fatto che esso offre la specifica 'dottrina' dell'autore su un dato argomento. Come Platone espone alcune sue tesi sulla vita politica (περὶ πολιτείας) e Seneca discute la questione se la precettistica parenetica sia sufficiente a rendere l'uomo perfetto (*an satis sit ad consummandam sapientiam*), così Paolo intende esporre quali siano la natura, le implicanze e le esigenze dell'evangelo cristiano in prospettiva universalistica.

Come abbiamo visto, le due lettere esaminate procedono molto liberamente. L'impostazione o τόξις dell'una non somiglia a quella dell'altra. Ciascun autore non solo riflette se stesso nella propria lettera, ma soprattutto tratta i rispettivi argomenti in maniera sostanzialmente svincolata dalle regole della retorica. In particolare, è proprio la *dispositio* a risultare libera e varia, sicché non solo quella di Platone non corrisponde a quella di Seneca, e viceversa, ma pure nessuna delle due è riconducibile a norme manualistiche prefissate. Il nesso più evidente con le esigenze retoriche, semmai, è dato dalla formulazione di una *propositio* principale, di cui d'altronde, come ammette Quintiliano,

⁽⁵³⁾ Eppure in questo consistettero le proposte sia di W. WUELLNER, «Paul's Rhetoric of Argumentation in Romans», sia di R. JEWETT, «Following the Argument of Romans», entrambi in *The Romans Debate*, rispettivamente 128-146 e 265-277.

nessuno può naturalmente fare a meno quando vuole esporre a parole un qualche caso o una qualche tesi. Ma è assai significativo che Seneca anticipi la *propositio* della lettera 95 addirittura nella precedente lettera 94. Nessuna meraviglia, dunque, se all'interno della stessa lettera ai Romani la *propositio* della prima parte, enunciata in 1,16-17, viene poi ripresa soltanto in 3,21ss. Analogamente, non deve meravigliare se le due grandi questioni enunciate in 3,1-4.5-8 (cioè: quale sia il di più del Giudeo e se occorra fare il male perché abbondi la grazia) vengano poi riprese separatamente e persino invertite in due momenti diversi (corrispondenti alle sezioni dei capitoli 6-8 e 9-11), secondo la tecnica che la retorica stessa conosce con il termine greco di πρόληψις o con quello latino di *praesumptio*, cioè di anticipazione⁽⁵⁴⁾. Ma i contatti di Rom con la retorica, a parte i procedimenti propri della *elocutio*, finiscono qui⁽⁵⁵⁾.

L'argomentazione dell'Apostolo, dunque⁽⁵⁶⁾, tende allo scopo di esporre la natura e le esigenze dell'evangelo procedendo in due mo-

⁽⁵⁴⁾ A questo proposito è interessante leggere ciò che scrive Quintiliano, IX,2,16-17: «Nel trattamento delle cause ha un effetto mirabile l'anticipazione, detta anche (dai Greci) πρόληψις ... Essa costituisce un genere in se stessa e comporta delle specie diverse. Infatti può essere o una sorta di difesa anticipata (*quaedam praemunitio*) ... o una sorta di confessione (*quaedam confessio*) ... o una sorta di preannuncio (*quaedam praedictio*) ... o una sorta di scusa (*quaedam emendatio*) ... o più frequentemente una sorta di preparazione (*quaedam praeparatio*) quando si ha l'abitudine di dire con più parole o perché faremo qualcosa o perché l'abbiamo fatta». Per questo tipo di struttura, cf. R. PENNA, «La funzione strutturale di 3,1-8 nella lettera ai Romani», *L'apostolo Paolo*. Studi di esegesi e teologia (Cinisello Balsamo 1991) 77-110 [versione inglese: *Paul the Apostle. Jew and Greek Alike* (Collegeville 1996) I, 60-89]; inoltre, vedi anche i commenti di U. Wilckens, L. Morris, J.D.G. Dunn, P. Stuhlmacher, M. Theobald, K. Haacker, e in più ANDERSON, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory*, 186 e 193-194.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Tuttavia, anche a proposito della *elocutio*, a parte ciò che abbiamo detto più sopra a proposito dell'uso di tropi e di figure letterarie, occorre riconoscere che a Paolo fa notoriamente difetto una nota distintiva della retorica che è la chiarezza, detta σαφήνεια in Aristotele (*Retorica* III, 2, 1404b) e *perspicuitas* in Quintiliano (VIII, 2, 1). Essa è «la condizione preliminare della credibilità» (LAUSBERG, *Elementi di retorica*, 79). Com'è noto, il difetto di Paolo era già constatato da 2Pt 3,16, oltre che poi dallo stesso Seneca nella lettera VII dell'epistolario apocrifo tenuto con Paolo («Vorrei che mentre proferisci concetti sublimi, alla elevatezza del loro contenuto non mancasse l'eleganza formale, *ut maiestati earum cultus sermonis non desit*»; e poco dopo Paolo viene definito *non legitime imbutus*, cioè «uno che non ha seguito un corso regolare di studi»).

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Che poi essa proceda essenzialmente per entimemi è stato ben studiato da J.D. MOORES, *Wrestling with Rationality in Paul*. Romans 1-8 in a New Perspective (SNTS.MS 82; Cambridge 1995).

menti successivi, e partendo di volta in volta con una diversa *propositio* principale⁽⁵⁷⁾: una prima grande *propositio* consiste in una definizione generale dell'evangelo stesso, in senso non tanto contenutistico quanto formale (1,16-17)⁽⁵⁸⁾, mentre l'altra *propositio* formula delle richieste generali riguardanti la vita morale del cristiano (12,1-2)⁽⁵⁹⁾. Ciascuna di esse genera e regge una delle due parti del corpo epistolare.

La prima delle due origina la parte più ampia della lettera (1,18-11,36), in cui Paolo procede gradualmente ad esporre alcuni aspetti decisivi e fondamentali dell'evangelo, cioè: (1) giustizia di Dio ad esso contraria (1,18-3,20) e corrispettivamente quale sia la dinamica del rapporto tra la giustizia di Dio rivelatasi in Cristo e il suo impatto soteriologico mediato dalla fede (3,21-5,21), (2) quali risvolti 'mistici' o partecipazionisti esso comporti per la vita cristiana in base al battesimo e allo Spirito (6,1-8,39), e (3) quali ripercussioni esso incontri a contatto con il popolo di Israele a cui sarebbe primariamente destinato (8,1-11,36).

La seconda dà inizio a una sezione che lo stesso Seneca chiamerebbe «parenetica» e che significativamente è molto più breve della precedente (12,3-15,13). Qui Paolo sintetizza l'intero agire morale del cristiano attorno al semplice ma esigentissimo concetto di ἀγάπη o amore di carità, dettagliandolo sia in una precettistica generale (12,3-21; 13,8-14), sia più specificamente in rapporto all'obbedienza verso le autorità civili (13,1-7), sia soprattutto nelle questioni di disaccordo religioso all'interno della comunità cristiana (14,1-15,13).

2. Ragione della diversa estensione delle due parti epistolari

La diversa estensione delle due parti di Rom, molto più ampia la prima rispetto alla seconda, è motivata da una preoccupazione di fondo che comanda la mente e il cuore dell'Apostolo, e cioè che l'agire morale del cristiano non avrebbe una sua consistenza propria se non poggiasse sulle solide basi dell'evangelo della grazia di Dio manifestatasi nel sangue di Cristo. È appunto questa convinzione a fargli esclamare che niente e nessuno potrà mai separarci dall'amore con cui Dio ci è venuto incontro in Cristo (cf. 8,31-39). La sola precettistica morale non

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Sull'importanza delle *propositiones* vedi J.-N. ALETTI, «La composizione di Rm», *La lettera ai Romani e la giustizia di Dio* (Roma 1997) 24-47.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ La proposta di ANDERSON, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory*, 185, di vedere la *propositio* principale in 1,15 non regge, se non nella misura in cui i seguenti vv. 16-17 si innestano logicamente sul precedente.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Cf. PITTA, *Lettera ai Romani*, 418.

avrebbe senso, se non supponesse e si fondasse su questo dato che è pre-morale, consistente appunto nella concretizzazione dell'ἀγάπη di Dio in Cristo, la quale raggiunge e rinnova l'uomo sia in quanto crede in lui sia in quanto partecipa al suo destino e alla sua identità.

Si dice a volte che la sola precettistica morale farebbe del cristiano uno stoico. Ma è proprio Seneca a ritenere errata questa visione delle cose, nella misura in cui la precettistica volesse prescindere da fondamenti più generali. Ebbene, proprio la struttura d'insieme della lettera ai Romani, e in specie la diversa estensione della prima parte rispetto alla seconda, in qualche modo ripete la preoccupazione propria di Seneca espressa nella lettera 95. Questi infatti è ben cosciente che una mera sfilza di singoli precetti non è affatto sufficiente a formare pienamente l'uomo. Ecco le sue parole:

Che dire del fatto che nessuno farà convenientemente quel che deve fare, se non avrà appreso la norma (*ratio*), secondo la quale in ciascun caso potrà compiere tutto l'elenco dei suoi doveri? E non potrà compierlo chi avrà ricevuto ammaestramenti solo particolari, non generali, poiché quelli particolari sono di per sé deboli (*imbecilla*) e per così dire senza radice (*sine radice*). I principi fondamentali (*decreta*) invece ci rendono sicuri (*muniunt*), proteggono la nostra quiete e tranquillità (*sae-curitatem nostram tranquillitatemque tueantur*), contengono insieme tutta intera la vita e la natura delle cose⁽⁶⁰⁾.

Certo per Seneca i principi fondamentali, i *decreta*, sono essi stessi di ordine morale. Ma resta la regola di fondo, secondo cui «quale sarà la persuasione, tali saranno le azioni, ... tale sarà la vita» (*qualis persuasio fuerit, talia erunt quae agentur, ... talis vita erit*), cosicché «bisogna imprimere nell'animo una salda persuasione che serva per tutta la vita, e questa appunto è ciò che io chiamo principio fondamentale» (*Ergo infigi debet persuasio ad totam pertinens vitam, hoc est quod decretum voco*), così come i naviganti dirigono la rotta guardando a qualche stella⁽⁶¹⁾.

Se al *decretum* morale di Seneca sostituiamo l'εὐαγγέλιον paolino, la struttura del pensiero resterebbe la medesima. Ma il vantaggio di Paolo è che la *dispositio* della lettera ai Romani, per la sua netta impostazione strutturale bipartita, rende maggiormente onore al rapporto tra i due fattori, chiarificandoli con più nettezza. Esattamente per questo, la lettera ai Romani condivide e propugna ancora meglio la stessa necessità proclamata da Seneca, anche se ovviamente cam-

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Seneca, *Ep.* 95,12.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Seneca, *Ep.* 95,44.

biano i termini della questione. La lettera paolina, infatti, scritta in prospettiva almeno parzialmente anti-giudeocristiana, se proprio non dimostra, certo persuade che l'originalità più vera e fondamentale della vita del credente-battezzato non si basa sulla legge e sulle sue opere bensì sulla fede in Cristo e sull'unione personale con lui.

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SUMMARY

The arrangement of the letter of Paul to the Romans has sometimes been likened to the *dispositio rhetorica* of speeches according to the ancient rules of the *ars bene dicendi*. Hence the question of the relation between epistolography and rhetoric, which has already been treated by some scholars, but never with a close analysis of any letter in antiquity in an extensive comparison with Romans. This article examines in detail two such letters, Plato's seventh and Seneca's ninety fifth, which are of similar length. Then it draws some interesting conclusions about the freedom of arrangement in the letters and, from Seneca, about the significance of the connection between the first and the second part of Romans itself.

Arslan Tash I and other Vestiges of a Particular Syrian Incantatory Thread (*)

The first incantatory plaque from Arslan Tash contains an incantation to keep harmful night-time creatures from entering the house until the sun rises. This spell is effected through the assistance of a host of deities, including Aššur, Horon, and the Sun-deity. In this brief contribution I offer a translation of this incantation from Arslan Tash (AT1) with select comments on particular orthographic, grammatical, and interpretive matters, and I present evidence for the presence of some of these incantational elements in three different sources in the Ancient Near East: Ugarit, New Kingdom Egypt, and the biblical Passover account in Exod 12.

I. Arslan Tash I

In 1939 R. du Mesnil du Buisson published the first of two plaques he had purchased in 1933 from a peasant in Arslan Tash, ancient Ḥadattu, in northeastern Syria near the border with Turkey⁽¹⁾. The artifact dates to the 7th century B.C. It has a hole drilled through the top of it, and the text is written around and upon three engraved figures on *recto* and *verso*⁽²⁾. On the *recto* are two figures, one above the other. The upper figure is a winged animal with large claws and a human head wearing a single-horned helmet; the lower figure is a wolf-like creature devouring a human being, whose legs are protruding from the creature's mouth. Though the term "sphinx" has been used for the sake of convenience to refer to the upper figure, this is not a certain identification, and art historians have yet to pronounce definitively on the character of all these figures. On the *verso* is a non-animal creature — perhaps a deity — wearing a helmet, standing astride, and raising an axe in his right hand.

The language of the inscription is Phoenician, though the writing of the letters reflects a regional Aramaic hand; and there are some possible Aramaisms in the orthography and grammar as well⁽³⁾.

(*) I thank K. Lawson Younger, Jr., Alan Lenzi, and my professor, Dennis Pardee, for offering valuable comments on earlier drafts of this article. Any defects or shortcomings, however, are attributable only to me.

(1) R. DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, "Une tablette magique de la région du moyen Euphrate", *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* (ed. F. CUMONT ET AL.) (BAH 30; Paris 1939) I, 421-434.

(2) See the hand copy provided at the end of the article. It was made by D. PARDEE, and taken from his "Les documents d'Arslan Tash: Authentique ou Faux?", *Syria* 75 (1998) 43.

(3) See the discussion of these possible Aramaisms in PARDEE, "Arslan Tash", 39-40.

Text (⁴)	Translation
<i>Recto</i>	
1) lhšʿtʿ [.] ʿlʿ <p>tʿ . ʿlt	An incantation against ‘<P>T’; a curse of
2) ssm . bn pdrš	(= to be used by) SSM son of PDRŠ.
3) šʿ ʿlw	Utter for his benefit,
4) w l . hnqt . ʿ	and say to the stranglers:
5) mr . bt ʿbʿ .	The house I enter,
6) bl tbʿn	you must not enter
<i>Verso</i>	
7) w hšr . ʿdrk	and the courtyard I tread,
8) bl . tdrkn . k	you must not tread.
9) rt . ln . ʿlt	He has made an eternal treaty with us;
10) ʿlm ʿšr . krt	Aššur has made (it)
11) ln . w kl bn ʿlm .	with us, (he) and all the Sons of the Gods,
12) w rb . dr kl . qdšn	even the Chief of the assembly of all our Holy Ones.
13) w . ʿlt šmm . w ʿrš . ʿ??ʿ	Moreover, (it is) a treaty (witnessed by) heaven and earth,
14) [--] ʿlm . b ʿlt . bʿl	[...] ETERNAL, by the oath of the lord (of?)
<i>Lower Edge</i>	
15) [---(-)] ʿnʿ ʿrš . b ʿltʿ	[...] EARTH, by the oath of
<i>Left Edge</i>	
16) [(-)] št hwrn . ʿš . tm . py	[the w]ife of Ḥawrōn, whose mouth (= utterance) is perfect,
<i>Upper Edge</i>	
17) w šbʿ . šrt y w š	and of his seven other wives, indeed the
<i>Right Edge</i>	
18) mnh . ʿšt . bʿl q[d]š	eight wives of the h[ol]y lord.

(⁴) The readings are based on the most recent autopsy of the artifact, that of Pardee, “Arslan Tash”, which includes a full epigraphic study and commentary. Only one other collation of the original artifact has been done since the *editio princeps*, that of J. Teixidor (“Les tablettes d’Arslan Tash au Musée d’Alep”, *AuOr* 1 [1983] 105-108), whose comments on readings are cursory and do not extend beyond line 17, where the text is most difficult. Teixidor’s study, as well as P. Amiet’s examination of the iconography of the plaque (“Observations sur les ‘Tablettes magiques’ d’Arslan Tash”, *AuOr* 1 [1983] 109), led many scholars to doubt the authenticity of the tablet in the 1980’s. Teixidor and Amiet believed the tablet to be a forgery. For an overview of the history of publications on this inscription since the *editio princeps*, and a defense of its authenticity, see J. VAN DIJK, “The Authenticity of the Arslan Tash Amulets”, *Iraq* 54 (1992) 65-68.

Upper Figure on Recto

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 19) l 'pt' . b ḥdr . ḥšk | Against 'PT': from a dark room |
| 20) 'br . p'm . p'm . ll z | she (hereby) passes immediately tonight. |

Lower Figure on Recto

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 21) b bty . ḥṣ't ¹ . hlk | From my house (into) the streets she (hereby) goes. |
|-------------------------------------|---|

Figure on Verso

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 22) '...' ¹ . l | 'He (hereby) emerges' ¹ to |
| 23) pth | my door, |
| 24) y . w ' | and |
| 25) wr . l | illuminates the |
| 26) mzzt . yṣ' . šmš | doorposts. Šamš (hereby) emerges |
| 27) '??' ¹ ss | ? |
| 28) ḥlb . w lr'?? ¹ | ? |
| 29) '??' ¹ | ? |

Comments

Line 1: The name 'PT' is restored to match the spelling on the upper figure on the *recto* (line 19).

Lines 2-3: The first four lines of this text have remained some of the most difficult to interpret. An alternative to that presented here is represented most recently by P.K. McCarter⁽⁵⁾. In the alternative interpretation, lines 1-4 list three deities or groups of deities against whom the incantation is addressed. The {š'} at the beginning of line 3 is considered the end of the second part of the divine name in line 2, SSM bn PDRŠŠ'. This name is then thought to be followed by an appositive, "the god", with the {w} at the end of line 3 an error, a dittography of the {w} at the beginning of line 4. The impetus for seeing a divine name PDRŠŠ' here came from a misreading of a Ugaritic ritual text, RS 1.023: 5, {pdr . tt}, where the {tt}, following a word-divider, is actually the number "six"⁽⁶⁾. Though SSM is attested as a divine name, it is also found in both Phoenician and Punic as a personal name⁽⁷⁾. The interpretation presented here sees SSM bn PDRŠ as the name of the person who is to benefit from the incantation, followed by an imperative at the beginning of line 3 which is parallel to the imperative in lines 4-5 ('mr), and this first imperative is followed by a prepositional phrase, therefore no dittography need be posited at the end of line 3.

Line 12: Recall the expression *wkl dr bn 'lm* in Karatepe A/III 19, a slight variation of several elements here in lines 11-12; and since the Karatepe

(5) P.K. MCCARTER, "An Amulet from Arslan Tash", *The Context of Scripture* (ed. W.W. HALLO – K.L. YOUNGER, JR.) (Leiden 2000) II, 222-223. McCarter's work was completed before PARDEE, "Arslan Tash", had appeared.

(6) T.H. GASTER, "The Magical Inscription from Arslan Tash", *JNES* 6 (1947) 188; PARDEE, "Arslan Tash", 35.

(7) For the Phoenician, see *CIS* 95: 3; for the Punic see *CIS* 3771: 5. See also the comment below on line 27.

monuments came to public light in the late 1940's⁽⁸⁾, after AT1 was known, this is a strong argument in favor of AT1's authenticity⁽⁹⁾.

Line 13: Cf. Sefire I.A.7-14, where several pairs of gods, including "heaven [and earth]" (restored) are called to witness the treaty, as well as Deut 32,1 and Isa 1,2, where they are invoked as witnesses to speech.

Line 16: The similar Akkadian phrase, *ša pūšu ellu*⁽¹⁰⁾, "whose mouth is pure", is confirmatory evidence that the 'š here is indeed the Phoenician relative pronoun, *pace* H. Torczyner's insistence that the plaque exhibits "in every particular pure Biblical Hebrew"⁽¹¹⁾, and at the same time shows that 'šr in line 10 is not the Hebrew relative pronoun, but the divinity Aššur. The meaning of the phrase 'š *tm py* is that Hawrōn's ability to effect a successful incantation is unparalleled⁽¹²⁾. This description, which matches Hawrōn's known abilities in the realm of incantation elsewhere, properly belongs to Hawrōn here, not (though it is grammatically possible) to his wife.

Line 20: "She" refers to the winged creature, assuming that it, like its partner below (line 21), is a feminine entity (because of the feminine plural verbs in lines 6 and 8 above; here the 3fs perfect verb is orthographically indistinguishable from the 3ms perfect). This interpretation assumes that the words written on the figures refer to those respective entities. The "stranglers" in line 4 therefore refer to both of these entities, the "flyer" (if that is the proper understanding of 'PT') and the "wolf". It is relevant to note that a pair of feminine "strangler" deities are also attested at Ugarit, 'ilatāma *hāniqatāma* (RS 1.001: 18).

The interpretation of the three figures depicted has ranged from seeing them all as evil demons⁽¹³⁾ to seeing them all as helpful entities⁽¹⁴⁾. The interpretation adopted here sees the two on the *recto* as evil, and the standing figure on the *verso* as helpful. The plaque has a hole in the top where a string or peg would have attached it to the top of a doorway. Thus the opposition between the defender of the house and the potential intruders would have been apparent in the placement of the figures on the plaque, both because they are on opposite sides of the artifact (would the plaque have been fastened so as not to "dangle", i.e., to keep the *verso* with the defending entity facing in towards the house, and the *recto* with the malignant beasts facing out?), and because the entities are facing opposite directions, so that the defender is strategically positioned to "hammer" the heads of the beasts should they come around the corner⁽¹⁵⁾.

⁽⁸⁾ H. ÇAMBEL, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (Berlin – New York 1999) II, 1-2; the texts are presented by W. Röllig in Appendix 1 of this volume, 50-81.

⁽⁹⁾ PARDEE, "Arslan Tash", 36.

⁽¹⁰⁾ T.H. GASTER, "A Canaanite Magical Text", *Or* 11 (1942) 42, n. 5.

⁽¹¹⁾ H. TORCZYNER, "A Hebrew Incantation Against Night-Demons from Biblical Times", *JNES* 6 (1947) 19.

⁽¹²⁾ GASTER, "Magical Text", 62-63.

⁽¹³⁾ W.F. ALBRIGHT, "An Aramaean Magical Text in Hebrew from the Seventh Century B.C.", *BASOR* 76 (1939) 7-8; F.M. CROSS, JR. – R.J. SALEY, "Phoenician Incantations on a Plaque of the Seventh Century B.C. from Arslan Tash in Upper Syria", *BASOR* 197 (1970) 47; and GASTER, "Magical Text", 71.

⁽¹⁴⁾ TORCZYNER, "Hebrew Incantation", 24-25.

⁽¹⁵⁾ VAN DIJK, "Authenticity", 67.

I am interpreting the verb in this line and those which follow in lines 21, 22 (restored), and 24-26 as perfects, functioning performatively, though they could simply be indicating a simple past.

Line 21: Here and in line 24, the {y} could be either a 3ms or a 1cs pronominal suffix⁽¹⁶⁾. I chose to interpret them in both places as 1cs, because of the first person perspective in the first part of the text, lines 5-12.

Line 22: The reading of the first three signs is uncertain to impossible, according to Pardee⁽¹⁷⁾, and the hand copy reflects this, at least for the first two. The third sign looks like a fairly clear 'aleph, however⁽¹⁸⁾. If that is the case, a III-'aleph perfect verb would fit here syntactically, and this could be YŠ', B', NŠ', QR', or TŊ', just to name a few that are attested frequently in Phoenician⁽¹⁹⁾. Bracketing out the epigraphic problem, it seems that the verb YŠ' would make the best sense here, with the subject gapped. In line 26 this verb is repeated and the subject is expressed. This structure — a repeated verb with the subject gapped in the first instance and expressed in the second — is similar to how I have interpreted the structure in lines 8-10 above concerning Aššur and the treaty⁽²⁰⁾. The sense here therefore is that Šamš, the sun-deity, is poised to emerge from his underworld circuit (i.e., at sunrise) to shine light on the door of SSM son of PDRŠ. As with the identification of the two figures on the *recto* (see comment on line 20), I am identifying the sun-deity in the text with the figure on the *verso* upon which it is written⁽²¹⁾. Though the treaty is initiated by Aššur, this is not sufficient reason to say that Aššur is the deity depicted in the figure, or that he has the primary role in protecting this house against unwanted intruders. We know from the Ugaritic text RS 24.251 (see section 2 below) that the sun-deity Šapšu could be a "destroyer" if called upon, rather than just a mere messenger, and in that text she has a more prominent role than does Hōrānu or any of the other "stars" of the pantheon. In Mesopotamian culture the sun-deity was a god of justice and protection⁽²²⁾, and the great kings of Mesopotamia, Hatti and Egypt were often given the title of "Sun"⁽²³⁾.

Line 27: Though the readings at the end of the inscription are very difficult, the possibility that this word means "horse" may provide a brave restorer something to work with, since we know that Šapšu in the Ugaritic text RS 24.251 was the mother of a mare (see section 2 below), and the passage in 2 Kgs 23,11 which indicates some religious connection between

⁽¹⁶⁾ J. FRIEDRICH – W. RÖLLIG – M.G. AMADASI GUZZO – W.R. MAYER, *Phönizisch-punisch Grammatik* (AnOr 55; Rome 31999) §112.

⁽¹⁷⁾ PARDEE, "Arslan Tash", 27.

⁽¹⁸⁾ CROSS – SALEY, "Phoenician Incantations", 46, n. 29, and confirmed by PARDEE, "Arslan Tash", 27.

⁽¹⁹⁾ FRIEDRICH – RÖLLIG – AMADASI GUZZO – MAYER, *Phönizisch-punisch*, §170.

⁽²⁰⁾ This is how S.D. SPERLING, "An Arslan Tash Incantation: Interpretations and Implications", *HUCA* 53 (1982) 6, organizes lines 8-10 as well.

⁽²¹⁾ I am here following the suggestion of PARDEE, "Arslan Tash", 37, 41, n. 89.

⁽²²⁾ A.L. OPPENHEIM, *Ancient Mesopotamia*. Portrait of a Dead Civilization (Chicago 1977) 195-196; G. ROUX, *Ancient Iraq* (London 31992) 88.

⁽²³⁾ CAD Š, Vol. 17/I, pp. 336-337; and in letters preserved in Ugaritic, e.g., RS 18.038, RS 34.356.

the sun and horses⁽²⁴⁾. In any case, the name SSM is not preserved in these last lines, as some earlier interpretations held⁽²⁵⁾.

II. Ugarit

There are two texts from the 24th archeological campaign (1961) at Ras Shamra, ancient Ugarit, that provide a cultural precedent for the Arslan Tash incantation. They are not incantations *per se*, but stories that illustrate or explain incantations, which Pardee has classified as “para-myths” or “historiolae”⁽²⁶⁾. In each of them, the deities Hôrānu and Šapšu (corresponding to Hawrōn and Šamš in AT1) are both involved in effecting a solution to a serpent problem. Though the date of these texts is uncertain, the kingdom of Ugarit fell around 1185 B.C., thus these texts are at least five centuries older than AT1.

RS 24.244 is very well preserved from beginning to end. In it, a mare who has divine ancestry asks her mother, Šapšu, to take a message to twelve different deities, requesting a cure for snake venom, each of whom in turn fails to effect a cure, except for the last one, Hôrānu. In this text Šapšu functions as a messenger⁽²⁷⁾, a natural task for an entity who is on a constant circuit through the sky by day and through the underworld by night. When Hôrānu gets the message, he goes to see the mare (line 61), then heads to a Mesopotamian city and gathers tree and plant parts, with which he neutralizes the venom (lines 62-67). Hôrānu then returns to his home and his effective eradication of the venom is described (lines 67-69)⁽²⁸⁾. He next pays the mare a visit at her home (lines 70-76), where she has locked herself in her house, which is referred to as the “house of incantation”. The story closes with Hôrānu requesting entry into the house, and the mare demanding a bride-price of serpents, to which Hôrānu agrees.

RS 24.251 is very poorly preserved, and though Hôrānu is present, his role is unknown. Šapšu, however, takes a quite prominent place in this story. Someone (ŠRGZZ) is here the victim of a poisonous snake bite (in contrast with the previous text, where no event of snake bite is recounted). From the sky Šapšu calls to the victim, asking what is wrong. The text then becomes too broken to understand anything significant. When the part of the text that is readable, or at least reconstructible, resumes, Šapšu is being entreated to “gather the fog...gather the venom...destroy X from the mouth of the

⁽²⁴⁾ PARDEE, “Arslan Tash”, 37; see also J.G. TAYLOR, *Yahweh and the Sun*. Biblical and Archeological Evidence for Sun Worship in Ancient Israel (JSOT. S 111; Sheffield 1993) 58-66, where he describes horse figurines with sun disks attached to them, found in Palestine under the direction of K. Kenyon and studied by T. A. Holland in an unpublished Oxford Ph.D. dissertation from 1975.

⁽²⁵⁾ Most recently represented by McCARTER, “Arslan Tash”, 223, again, without the benefit of Pardee’s epigraphic study of the original.

⁽²⁶⁾ D. PARDEE, *Les textes para-mythologiques* (RSO IV; Paris 1988) and *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (SBLWAW; Atlanta 2002).

⁽²⁷⁾ As she does generally, see S. WIGGINS, “Shapsh, Lamp of the Gods”, *Ugarit, Religion, and Culture* (ed. N. WYATT – W.G.E. WATSON – J.B. LLOYD) (UBL 12; Münster 1996) 327-350.

⁽²⁸⁾ Described in parallel lines as his *bt*, “house”, and *h̄zr*, “court”, two terms which are also parallel in AT1, lines 5-7.

biter/devourer". The fog is a metaphor for snake venom, and hence the Sun is seen to be effective in dissipating the fog/venom⁽²⁹⁾. Then all the gods, in pairs, are asked to help in gathering the venom, with Hôrānu sharing a place in the first pair with 'Īlu. But the last intelligible portions of the text return to Šapšu as the primary gatherer of venom, repeating the lines from above when she was first entreated.

From these two texts that portray the divine side of incantatory practice at Ugarit, we have several cultural precedents that are reflected in the AT1 plaque at least five centuries later.

1. The cooperation of a large number of gods in an incantatory context.
2. The prominent presence, specifically, of Horon and the Sun-deity in an incantatory context⁽³⁰⁾.
3. The basic concern with the doorway of a house in incantations.
4. An interest in Horon's wives⁽³¹⁾.
5. Protection sought from beasts which bite and/or eat humans.

It is important to reiterate once more that these commonalities exist despite the fact that the genre of the Ugaritic texts differs from that of AT1, the former being a story about an incantatory situation, the latter being an actual incantation on a plaque that would have been used in the house of the owner.

I should also state clearly that I am not positing literary dependence between the texts at Ugarit and Arslan Tash. On the contrary, I am trying to show that these were things that were "in the air", so to speak, in ancient Syrian incantatory practice. Sperling discusses how incantations especially reflect older, received traditions; he applies this specifically to the aspect of gods making treaties with humans⁽³²⁾. Another relevant example of this common incantational tradition comes from the second Arslan Tash plaque (AT2) and the Ugaritic incantation RS 22.225, both of which are concerned with a menacing "eye", 'n. Another example is the prominence of snakes and serpents as objects of incantations, both at Ugarit and Ebla, another Syrian site, but at least a millennium older than the Ugaritic incantations⁽³³⁾.

III. Egypt

It has long been known that Horon, along with many other native Canaanite deities, were assimilated into the Egyptian pantheon during the

⁽²⁹⁾ PARDEE, *Les textes*, 248-251; *Ritual and Cult*, text 54.

⁽³⁰⁾ The relationship between these two deities is evident as well in Egypt (section 3 below), and it is of interest to note that two cities in ancient Israel named after these gods, Beth-Shemesh and Beth-Horon, lay about 15 miles apart, southwest of Jerusalem, and roughly midway between them is Aijalon, the valley (and a city) where Joshua commanded the sun and moon to stand still while Israel defeated the five Amorite kings in battle (Josh 10,12-14; thanks to Dan Belnap for pointing this out to me).

⁽³¹⁾ A. CAQUOT, "Observations sur la première tablette magique d'Arslan Tash", *JANES* 5 (1973) 49, n. 13; PARDEE, "Arslan Tash", 36.

⁽³²⁾ SPERLING, "Interpretations", 9.

⁽³³⁾ A. CATAGNOTI – M. BONECHI, "Magic and Divination at IIIrd Millennium Ebla, 1. Textual Typologies and Preliminary Lexical Approach", *SEL* 15 (1998) 17-39.

New Kingdom⁽³⁴⁾. The specific evidence for the presence of Horon is instructive. The earliest evidence of Horon's presence in Egypt is a proper name in a papyrus dating to the 18th dynasty. There are six plaques found in a foundation deposit near the Great Sphinx in Giza that date to the reign of Amonhotep II (early 18th dynasty, late 15th century) which describe him as "beloved of Hauron-Harmakhis". Harmakhis is the Great Sphinx, the image of the Sun-deity⁽³⁵⁾, and in these plaques as in other artifacts particularly from the 19th dynasty, Horon is identified with the Great Sphinx of Giza. After that, he is mentioned on a door-frame inscription by Tutankhamon (late 18th dynasty, mid-14th century) in Giza.

In the 19th dynasty the evidence for Horon's cult in Egypt is more abundant⁽³⁶⁾. Seti I added an inscription to a door-jamb belonging originally to Amonhotep II where he mentions Horon. Several private votive stelae from the 19th dynasty mention Horon. There is a good amount of evidence specifically from the time of Ramses II (successor to Seti I). In the delta, a statue found at Tanis describes Ramses II as "beloved of Hauron", as does a granite column in a military outpost west of Alexandria. A Rameside votive sphinx mentions "Hauron of the Lebanon". On the west bank of Thebes, there are, from the same period, several amulets with Horon and Shed together exercising power over dangerous desert animals. Perhaps the most famous and instructive reference to Horon is found in the Harris Magical Papyrus (501), dating to the late 19th dynasty. Horon, along with fellow Canaanite deities 'Anat and Reshep, are invoked for protection against wild desert animals. Horon, referred to as "Valiant Shepherd", renders wolf-fangs useless, and is entreated along with Horus to let none of the harmful beasts enter the cultivated field⁽³⁷⁾.

These data link Horon with four different kings across the 18th and 19th dynasties, Amonhotep II, Tutankhamon, Seti I, and Ramses II; and associate him with the sun-deity (as at Ugarit, see section 2 above). Horon is found on Giza door-post inscriptions in both the 18th and 19th dynasties; and most importantly, he is invoked to keep dangerous animals out of domesticated areas on the Theban west bank.

IV. Exodus 12 and the "First Passover"

Cross and Saley⁽³⁸⁾ were the first to recognize that the importance of the doorposts in AT1, the *mzzt* (line 26), may very well be compared to the apotropaic application of the lamb's blood on the מַזוֹת of the houses of the

⁽³⁴⁾ C. TRAUNECKER, *The Gods of Egypt* (Ithaca 2001) 106-108; D. REDFORD, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton 1992) 231-233; A. KUERT, *The Ancient Near East* (London – New York 1995) 213; J. VAN DIJK, "The Canaanite God Hauron and his Cult in Egypt", *GM* 107 (1989) 59-68; W.F. ALBRIGHT, "The Canaanite God Haurôn (Hôrôn)", *AJSL* 53/1 (1936) 10.

⁽³⁵⁾ VAN DIJK, "Hauron", 65.

⁽³⁶⁾ The Nineteenth Dynasty basically spans the entirety of the 13th century, plus a few years on either or both ends, depending on the authority. This corresponds roughly to the last century of the Kingdom of Ugarit.

⁽³⁷⁾ ALBRIGHT, "Canaanite God", 4.

⁽³⁸⁾ CROSS – SALEY, "Phoenician Incantations", 48-49.

Hebrews on the eve of their exodus from Egypt. It is worth citing therefore their entire comment on the matter:

We believe it not farfetched to point out a parallel between the plaque, and its function, and the marks made with the blood of the Passover lamb on the doorposts of Israelites in Yahwistic tradition, designed to protect Israelite firstborn in the night of the last plague on Egypt (Exodus 12:22f.). No less a parallel is the practice required by the Deuteronomist, also writing in the seventh century, instructing the children of Israel to inscribe their doorposts with words from the law (Deut. 6:4-9). These practices in Israel evidently had a pagan background. In other words, we suggest that the Arslan Tash plaque was a pagan prototype of the *mezūzāh*, the Israelite portal inscription.

Cross and Saley do not go into any detail about the parallels, or how they might have come into Israelite practice, nor do they explain why the AT1 plaque itself can in any way be a “prototype” of something known from the Deuteronomist, to say nothing of the Yahwist. But their general observation is valid nonetheless.

W. Propp has also suggested this parallel⁽³⁹⁾. He relies on Cross and Saley as well as KAI for his understanding of AT1, so his interpretation of the text on the figures (lines 19-29) is not informed by Pardee’s corrections (which appeared too late to be used by him). Following Cross and Saley in identifying three evil beings in the text, he says that “these all must be close cousins of the original paschal demon”⁽⁴⁰⁾.

Also to be mentioned in this respect is the translation by McCarter, where at the end of line 6 he has referenced Exod 12, 21-32⁽⁴¹⁾.

There are three basic parallels between AT1 and the Passover account of Exod 12.

First, in each text, unwanted night-time intruders are prevented from entering through the door of a house to kill occupants inside⁽⁴²⁾ (AT1 lines 5-8, 19-26; Exod 12,7.12-13.22-23.29-30)⁽⁴³⁾. Though AT1 line 19 mentions a

⁽³⁹⁾ W. PROPP, *Exodus 1-18. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AncB 2; New York 1999) 437, 441.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ PROPP, *Exodus 1-18*, 441.

⁽⁴¹⁾ McCARTER, “Arslan Tash”, 223.

⁽⁴²⁾ On p. 440, Propp (*Exodus 1-18*) asks “Three Questions” about the mechanics of Passover: Why in the evening, why a doorpost, and why in the springtime? He employs AT1 to help answer the second question, but based on Pardee’s new reading of AT1 line 20 the first question can be answered with the help of AT1 as well (see the following discussion).

⁽⁴³⁾ It so happens, though it may not be significant enough to call a parallel, that in each case, the threatening entity is the subject of the verb ‘*br*. In AT1 it refers to the exit of the “flyer” from a dark room, just in case it managed to get in (19-20), and in Exod 12,12.23 it refers to Yahweh himself, who “passes through” the land to destroy all the firstborn of Egypt.

Another OT passage that shares these parallels is Isa 26,20-21a:

לך עמי בא בחדריך וסגר דלתך בעדך חבי כמעט־רגע עד־יעבר־זעם :
כִּידְגָה יִהְיֶה יֵצֵא מִמְּקוֹמוֹ לִפְקֹד עוֹן יִשְׁבִּי־הָאָרֶץ עָלָיו

Go, my people, enter your rooms, and shut your doors behind you; hide for a little while, until the accursed thing passes by. For Yahweh is going out from his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their guilt (lit: to visit the guilt of the inhabitant of the earth upon him).

“dark room”, the night-time aspect of AT1 was not clear until the new reading established by Pardee in his 1998 study of the original (see note 2). Du Mesnil du Buisson recorded the reading in line 20 as {llyn}, and this became the standard reading⁽⁴⁴⁾. As Pardee reports⁽⁴⁵⁾, what on the copy looks like the upper part of a {y} is actually just a surface scratch, and without it the sign is a perfect {z}. In addition, he finds no evidence for reading a {n} after this sign⁽⁴⁶⁾. This reveals the correct reading of {ll z}, “this night”. That death is the risk in AT1 is evident both from the mention of “stranglers” in line 4, and the iconography of the lower figure on the *recto*, who is devouring a human. The second Arslan Tash plaque also has a beast devouring a human, and in that text there is a specific reference to barring the door (*n’lt mn’l*, “I have secured the door”, line 7). This first parallel helps explain why Passover began as a family rite, and apparently continued so even after centralization of the cult occurred⁽⁴⁷⁾. It had to be a family rite, because naturally only one family can fit into one house, and the rite was (originally) about keeping harmful beings out of the house.

Second, the morning, specifically, the sunrise, is the time when it is safe to leave (AT1 lines 22-26; Exod 12,22)⁽⁴⁸⁾. This is the import of what is preserved in the text on the *verso* figure. The sun-deity, Šamš, shines upon the doorway and the need for the night-time incantation is over (see comment on line 22).

Third, the basis for the prevention of intrusion is the beneficence of deities as expressed in an agreement (AT1 lines 9-18; Exod 12,14.17.24-5)⁽⁴⁹⁾. In AT1 the word *’lt* is used with three distinct nuances: 1) “curse” (line 1); and the two relevant to this point: 2) “treaty” (*’lt ’lm*, “eternal treaty”, in lines 9-10, and perhaps *’lt* in line 13), and 3) “oath” (lines 14-15, perhaps 13). In Exod 12 it is חקת עלם (masculine חק in v. 24). In Hebrew, חקת is properly a “statute”, but in both its feminine and masculine form it is found in parallel with ברית, “covenant” (e.g., 1 Kgs 11,11; Ps 105,8-10; Lev 24,8-9), and in its

Commentators have variously identified the imagery here with Noah’s ark or the Passover (PROPP, *Exodus 1-18*, 427, favors the latter identification). Like the AT1 and Passover texts, the doorway is secured to prevent the entry of a hostile entity (again, the subject of the verb עבר), and it is not too imaginative to see here the element of a morning rescue by Yahweh (subject of the verb יצא, as in AT1 line 26; see comment on line 22 and note 48 below). Compare also the mare’s actions after the snake venom is weakened in the Ugaritic text summarized above in section 2, RS 24.244:70-1: *b’dh . bhtm . mnt . b’dh . bhtm . sgrt b’dh . ’dbt . tl .*; “Behind her the house of incantation, behind her the house she has shut, behind her she has set the bronze (bolt)” (translation by PARDEE, *Ritual and Cult*, 178-179).

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Du MESNIL DU BUISSON, “Une tablette magique”, 424.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ PARDEE, “Arslan Tash”, 26.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ PARDEE, “Arslan Tash”, 25.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ R. ALBERTZ, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period* (OTL; Louisville 1994) 35.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Might this help explain the timing when Yahweh destroyed the Egyptian army (Exod 14,27), לפנות בקר, “break of day”? All the previous night the Egyptians were kept at bay through the apotropaic function of the pillar of cloud (14,20), and in the morning the Israelites were saved. Ps 46,5-6, possibly recalling this great victory, uses the same phrase, לפנות בקר, to describe when God will come to the assistance of his holy city.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ SPERLING, “Interpretations”, 9-10; Z. ZEVIT, “A Phoenician Inscription and Biblical

masculine form it is parallel also with שְׁבוּעָה, “oath” (Ps 105,8-10). Thus, *’lt* *’lm* and חֵקֶה עִלָּם belong to similar semantic and pragmatic domains.

If Exod 12 does indeed contain vestiges of this Syrian incantatory thread found in AT1 (theologically reoriented and sanitized, to be sure), how might we account for this fact? We know that there were close cultural contacts between Phoenicians and Israelites in the first millennium B.C., and that Phoenician culture functioned as a medium for the earlier Canaanite culture, e.g., that found at Ugarit⁽⁵⁰⁾. Thus the infrastructure for cultural interaction between Syro-Phoenicia and Israel in the first millennium is well established.

There is another, far more hypothetical, possibility. Given the presence of elements of this Syrian thread in Egypt (see section 3) around the time that some biblical scholars would place an “Exodus group”, perhaps this incantatory thread was known and incorporated into the experiences and theological perspectives of this Exodus group⁽⁵¹⁾.

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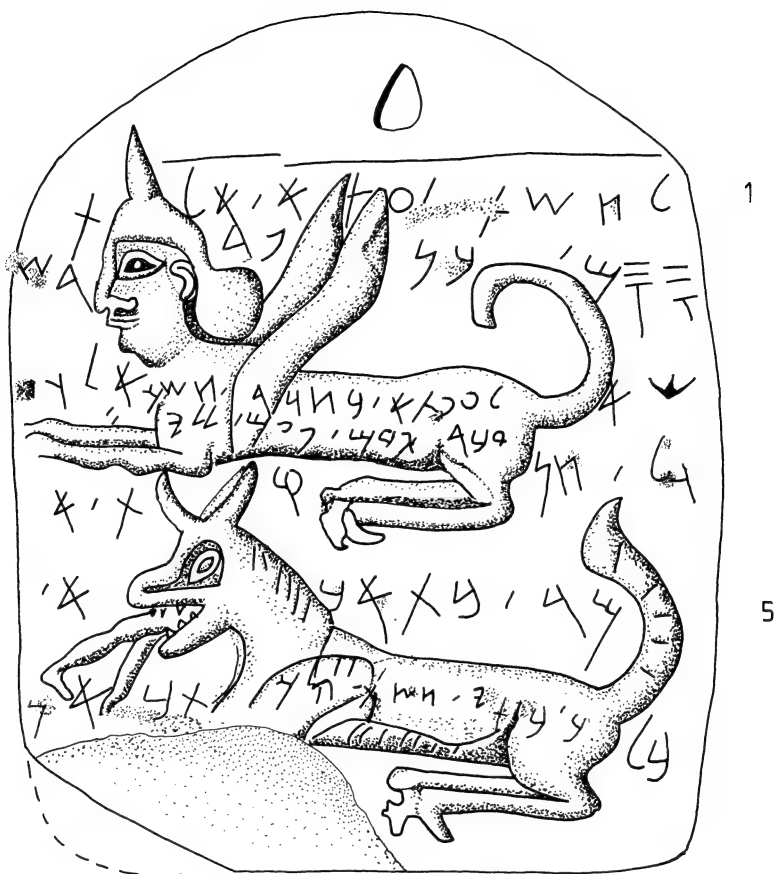
SUMMARY

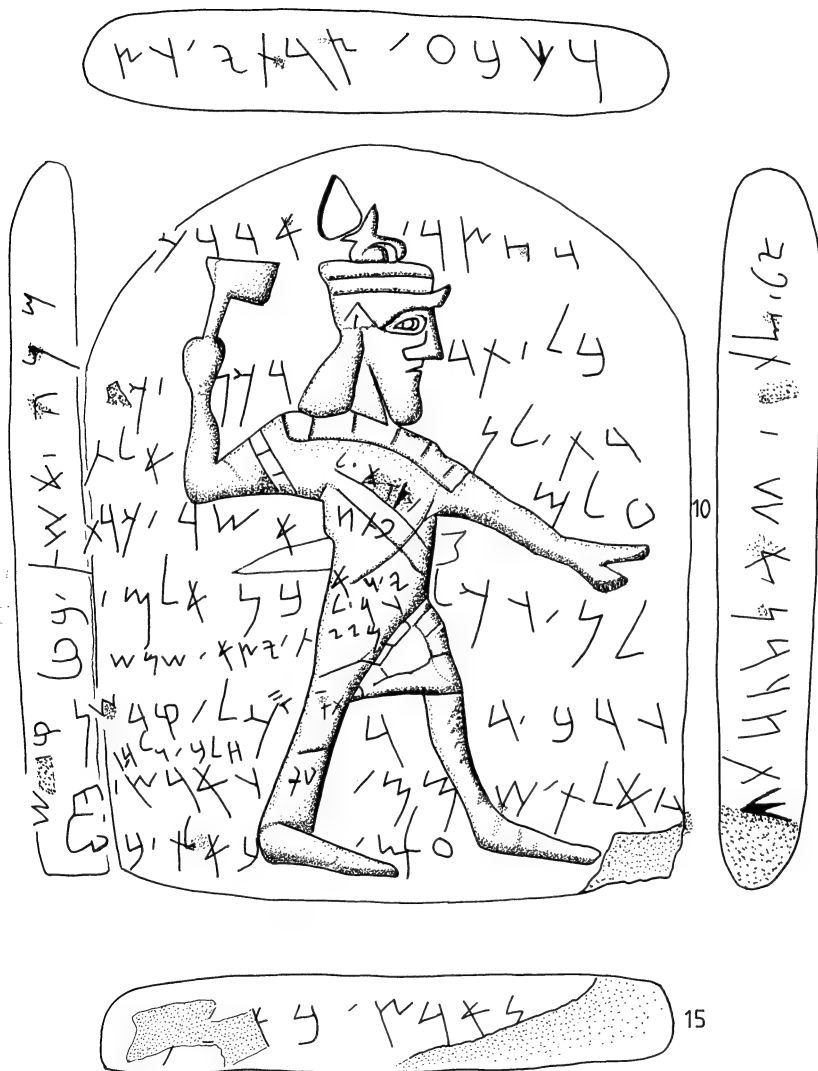
The first part of this article is a new translation and interpretation of the first incantational plaque from Arslan Tash in northern Syria. Each of the three succeeding sections identifies and discusses elements of this incantation that find resonance in texts from Ugarit, Egypt, and the Hebrew Bible, respectively. At Ugarit we find texts predating Arslan Tash which describe incantational activity involving Horon and the Sun-deity, both of whom are present in the Arslan Tash text, and who have similar roles in the two traditions. Horon is also present in Egypt during the last centuries of the city of Ugarit, and is there also associated with the Sun-deity and performs similar functions as at Arslan Tash. In the Passover account of Exod 12 there are several elements in common with Arslan Tash, albeit in the distinctive form that might be expected in the theological and literary tradition of the Hebrew Bible.

Covenant Theology”, *IEJ* 27 (1977) 116-118.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ See discussion in SPERLING, “Interpretations”, 9, as well as J. DAY, “Canaan, Religion of”, *ABD* I, 831-837.

⁽⁵¹⁾ It is purely hypothetical, of course, but if Ramses II is still considered by many to be the “Exodus Pharaoh”, it is tantalizing to consider that the Passover could have been an ironic twist on his relationship with Horon as documented above in section 3. The god who keeps harmful entities out of the house at night was unable to keep Yahweh from entering Pharaoh’s house and killing his firstborn son, while the Hebrews were protected by their new-found savior.

Arslan Tash I (*recto*)



Arslan Tash I (verso)

The Crucifixion as *Chaoskampf*: A New Reading of the Passion Narrative in the Synoptic Gospels

I. Introduction

The descriptions of Jesus' crucifixion in the synoptic gospels make reference to several elements not present in the account of John. In particular, Matt 27,45-54, Mark 15,33-39 and Luke 23,44-47 all make mention of a darkness covering the earth from the sixth to the ninth hours (i.e. in the three hours leading up to Jesus' death), of the temple curtain being torn in two, and of a centurion, witnessing the events surrounding Jesus' death, acknowledging either his innocence or his status as a "son of God".

These events have been interpreted by commentators in different ways. Some have seen in the description of the darkness and the tearing of the temple curtain no more than a reporting of the historical circumstances of Jesus' death. Others, however, see the narrative as having a literary purpose; as illustrative of Jesus' status as God's son, as betokening a desire on the part of God to shield his son from the most public aspects of a drawn-out and humiliating death, or as indicating God's displeasure with the Israel that had rejected his son. There are, however, problems with all of these interpretations, and it is on this account that no solid consensus has been formed as to the precise significance to be attached to these portents. This article seeks to examine the conflicting scholarly interpretations of these events and to offer evidence for a new and distinctive understanding of this narrative.

II. Darkness, Death and the Temple Curtain: The Old Testament and Jewish Background

1. *Darkness*

In order to better understand the problems surrounding current interpretations of the portents associated with Jesus' crucifixion, the main scholarly positions will now be examined in turn. Firstly, it should be stated that the historical approach to the description of the darkness adopted by O'Collins and Cranfield has very little impact on attempts to read the narrative with a literary or theological bias⁽¹⁾. Both explain the darkness in the synoptic accounts as the result of one of the periodic "black siroccos" that is said to afflict areas in Palestine from time to time. Whether this darkness occurred or not, and whether or not it was indeed the result of a dust storm, what matters is that the narrator attaches enough significance to the event to weave it into his narrative. It is the task of the critic not to worry about the historicity of such a detail (especially when it is unverifiable), but to discover why it was deemed worthy of inclusion in the narrative.

⁽¹⁾ G.G. O'COLLINS, "Crucifixion", *ABD* I, 1209; C.E.B. CRANFIELD, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (Cambridge 1996) 457-58.

Among those who take a more literary-oriented approach is Nickelsburg, who sees the darkness and tearing of the temple curtain (and, in the Matthean text, the shaking of the earth and splitting of the rocks) as “the visible phenomena that vindicate Jesus’ status as God’s son” to which the centurion (a gentile) responds, but which Jesus’ own people ignore⁽²⁾. While there is some validity to this position, particularly in the comparison of the reactions of Gentile and Jew, the centurion and people outside Jerusalem could not have witnessed the events at the temple described in the crucifixion narrative. Accordingly, there must be some other significance to these events additional to their role as a catalyst for the gentile acknowledgement of Christ.

Another view is advanced by Gundry, who argues that the darkness is a response by God to the jeering of the group witnessing Jesus’ execution, an attempt to shield his son from the humiliation of the people’s mockery⁽³⁾. On the face of it, this also seems a reasonable position. If one reads the passion narratives in a linear fashion, the three synoptic gospels all place specific examples of the mockery endured by Jesus (from the people, priests and a fellow-victim) before their accounts of the darkness. Yet the essential point of the passion narratives seems to be to demonstrate the ultimate sacrifice made by Jesus: he suffers a painful and humiliating death and gives utterance to the idea that he has been abandoned by God (Matt 27,46; Mark 15,34). The darkness by this reading would seem to be a pointless and very partial mitigation of Jesus’ plight (though one could take it as a sign that Jesus has not truly been “forsaken” by God). Perhaps more seriously, it divorces the portent of the darkness from that of the tearing of the temple curtain, when their association in the synoptic gospels suggest that they are connected.

However, the most common interpretation of the darkness is that expressed by Hooker and others, who understand it as a symbol of judgement on Israel for the death of Israel’s king⁽⁴⁾. Almost all commentators make reference to Amos 8,9-10 in their discussion of this part of the narrative. The text in question states:

On that day, declares Lord Yahweh,
I will make the sun go down at noon
and darken the earth in broad daylight.
I will turn your religious feasts into mourning
and all your singing into weeping.
I will make all of you wear sackcloth
and shave your heads.
I will make that time like mourning for an only son
and the end of it like a bitter day

⁽²⁾ G.W.E. NICKELSBURG, “Passion Narratives”, *ABD* V, 174. Interestingly, an earlier author, Melito of Sardis (d. 190 CE), interpreted the darkening of the earth as an attempt by the creation to cover the unseemly nakedness of the crucified creator (*Pass.* 96-97). Such a theological interpretation, although, I would argue, wrong in specifics, may be correct in its overall approach.

⁽³⁾ R.H. GUNDRY, *Mark. A Commentary on his Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids, MI 1993) 947.

⁽⁴⁾ M.D. HOOKER, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London 1991) 376. Cf. also B.H. BRANSCOMBE, *The Gospel of Mark* (London 1937) 296; H. ANDERSON, *The Gospel of Mark* (London 1976) 345.

The giving of the passage in full is not a frivolous exercise, although no commentator of whom I am aware has hitherto done so in their discussion. Instead, two statements in the text are generally emphasised: the darkness at noon and the “mourning for an only son.” Now, it is indeed the case that the darkness appears at noon (“the sixth hour”) in the crucifixion narratives, but other than that the similarities between the text and the crucifixion are notable for their absence (especially since it is the people who are supposed to be mourning in the Amos text). However, one could see the text as obliquely predicting Jesus’ death (with its associated manifestation of darkness), and the consequent punishment of Israel as expressed in the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE (the last couplet would mean that Israel is to mourn as God had once mourned his only son).

At the same time, however, it is well on a number of counts to urge caution regarding the acceptance of the link between the crucifixion narrative and Amos 8 as cut-and-dried. Firstly, there is the statement in Amos 8 that all of the events described are part of the Day of Yahweh (“on that day”), whereas the reading discussed here separates events in Amos 8,9-10 by nearly forty years. This by itself, however, would not present an insurmountable difficulty to a contemporary interpreter sweeping the scriptures for references to his own time (judging at least from some of the exegetical gymnastics evident in texts such as the Habakkuk Commentary from Qumran [1QpHab]). A more serious argument is that the reader would be expected to come away from the text having spotted a single, and by no means obvious, allusion to Amos 8 and realise that this is also an omen of the destruction of the second Temple. Even when it is expressed alongside the portent of the tearing of the temple curtain, the realization that such a demand is being made of the audience ought to give commentators some pause for thought.

A new perspective on this problem may be helpful. Biblical texts strongly associate darkness or night with the forces of chaos. Darkness is synonymous with chaos in the form of non-existence (Job 3,3-6) or crime (Prov 2,13), and is therefore particularly associated with Sheol — the place where the human essence resides after death (Job 10,21; 17,11-16; Eccl 11,8). Night is a time of lawlessness, when thieves or the wicked play out their schemes (Job 24,14; Obad 5; Matt 24,43; 1 Thess 5,2). Associations of darkness with the forces of chaos led OT authors to speculate that with God’s final victory over the forces of chaos, night would cease to exist (Isa 60,18-20 cf. Zech 14,7). This theme is adapted by the author of Revelation (22,5 cf. 21,25) in his vision of the new creation, one unmarred by the presence of chaos within cosmic boundaries. As well as the destruction of darkness, two other exemplars of chaos, death and the sea, are also destroyed (Rev 21,1.4).

Of more immediate import, however, is the way that darkness is portrayed within the gospels. John, for example, describes how Satan entered into Judas after the Last Supper when “it was night” (John 13,27.30). More significant still, however, is Jesus’ arrest at night when “the power of darkness” reigned (Luke 22,53)⁽⁵⁾ From this remark, it is clear that Jesus perceived this arresting him not as representing the forces of law and order but as being in league with,

⁽⁵⁾ M.L. BARRÉ, “Night”, *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. K. VAN DER TOORN – B. BECKING – P. W. VAN DER HORST) (Leiden – Grand Rapids, MI 1999) 624.

or under the influence of, the powers of chaos. From this, it is but a short step to see the darkness spreading over the earth at Jesus' crucifixion as representing the powers of chaos encroaching upon the creation. It is my contention that the crucifixion is expressed literarily as a *chaoskampf*, but one in which the powers of chaos are victorious. This *chaoskampf* theme is far from alien to the gospels (especially in confrontations with the demonic), and features most prominently in the narrative in which Jesus demonstrates his command over the forces of chaos by ordering the winds and waves that had threatened his boat to be still (Matt 8,23-27; Mark 4,35-41; Luke 8,22-25). Several commentators see in this latter episode an allusion to Psalm 104, in which Yahweh accomplishes the same feat. Indeed, it is noticeable that Jesus, faced by the raging chaos waters, does not call on Yahweh, but, rather, acts as if he were Yahweh⁽⁶⁾. Naturally, the synoptic writers stop short of taking the parallel to its logical conclusion (i.e. calling Jesus "God")⁽⁷⁾, but there is certainly a blurring of the distinction between Jesus as human and the Jesus as a creator figure. The act of repulsing the hostile forces of chaos is implicitly linked with creation, and the godlike power of Jesus in so doing is evidenced in the terrified exclamation of the disciples: "Who is this? Even the winds and waves obey him!" (Matt 8,27; Mark 4,41 cf. Luke 8,25).

2. Jesus' Death and Resurrection

The death of this creator figure on the cross is, in a sense, the ultimate victory of Chaos over creation, for death in OT thought was associated with chaos, and Sheol is depicted as the dwelling place of chaos. For Hebrew writers the lifebreath returned to God on the death of the individual (Eccl 12,7), but the essence of that person took up residence in Sheol (Eccl 9,10). In those texts that explicitly describe Sheol, it is characterised by dust (Job 17,16; 21,26; Ps 7,6 [Eng. 5]) and silence (Pss 31,17-18; 94,17; 115,17; Isa 47,5). Both aspects contribute to the feeling that the Hebrew underworld is essentially a dry, lifeless place, rather like the description of the land in Gen 2,5 before the formation of humanity (cf. Gen 1,9-10). As with Sheol, desert and wasteland, where little or nothing grows, are viewed as chaotic in Hebrew thought precisely because they are lifeless (cf. the use of the term חָדָר in Gen 1,2 and Deut 32,10; Job 6,18; 12,24; Isa 24,10; 45,18).

Sheol is further equated with chaos in its frequent association with darkness (Job 17,13 cf. Lam 3,6; Job 18,18), and, like the sea, it is fitted with gates (Isa 38,10; Pss 9,14 [Eng. 13]; 107,18; Job 38,17 cf. Wis 16,13; Matt 16,18; Rev 1,18) and bars (Jon 2,7 [Eng. 6]; Job 38,10), presumably to prevent the escape of its inhabitants (and thus to maintain the separation between the realms of creation and uncreation). Most significant of all, however, are those OT poetic texts that combine imagery of the individual being engulfed by the chaos waters and being carried down to Sheol (Jon 2,3-6; Pss 42,8; 69,2-3.15-16; 88,7-8). Death in Hebrew thought then involved a movement from the created realm to the realm of uncreation, or chaos.

⁽⁶⁾ E. SCHWEIZER, *The Good News According to Mark* (London 1970) 109-110.

⁽⁷⁾ J. MARCUS, *The Way of the Lord. Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark* (Edinburgh 1992) 144-45.

Again, precisely because death could be seen as a victory for chaos over God's creatures, later apocalyptic texts which envisioned the perfection or renewal of creation believed that God would ultimately overcome chaos in the form of death. An excellent example of this in the OT occurs in the Isaiah Apocalypse (Isaiah 24–27) which stated that Yahweh "will swallow up death forever ... he will wipe away the tears from all faces" (Isa 25,8 cf. 26,19), a promise that was taken up enthusiastically by the author of Revelation (Rev 21,4).

It is against this background that the death of Jesus on the cross should be understood. Elsewhere, the resurrection is aptly characterised a victory over death (cf. 1 Cor 15,55.57), a view that presupposes a theology of *chaoskampf*. As such, Jesus' death and resurrection serve as the firstfruits of the eschaton and herald not just the defeat of death but its ultimate destruction. The same theology informs the report in Matthew of the resurrection of the saints following Jesus' own raising from the dead (Matt 27,52–53).

3. The Temple Curtain

Finally, the evidence of the tearing of the temple curtain should be considered. In line with the interpretation of the darkness at the crucifixion as indicative of divine judgement on Israel, this is often taken to be a portent of the eventual destruction of the temple itself⁽⁸⁾. As noted, however, this would mean that the gospel authors were relating Amos 8 not only to the events of the crucifixion but also the eventual destruction of the Temple several decades later. It is perhaps for this reason that there has been a tendency to see the destruction presaged by the tearing of the curtain as figurative (and usually positive) in nature. For example, Schweizer argues that the vignette of the torn curtain originated with the early church which regarded Jesus' death as portending the end of all temple ritual⁽⁹⁾. Likewise, Carrington takes the position that the rending of the curtain represents the destruction of the old barrier separating God and his people (since the curtain in the Temple's "holy of holies" where Yahweh resided could be passed only once a year, and then only by the High Priest)⁽¹⁰⁾.

Carrington's unusual argument deserves closer scrutiny. According to the *Antiquities* of Josephus, himself a priest (*Life* 1), the tabernacle was effectively understood to be microcosm of the creation. Divided into three, the outer parts represented the sea and the land, while "the third part thereof ... to which the priests were not admitted is, as it were, a heaven peculiar to God" (*Ant.* 3.181). This suggests that the temple curtain formed the boundary between earth and heaven: its destruction could be taken to signify the irruption of the heavenly world onto the earth (i.e. the arrival of the kingdom of heaven as Carrington suggests). However, it could equally be taken to

⁽⁸⁾ A.E.J. RAWLINSON, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London 1925) 238. H.M. JACKSON, "The Death of Jesus in Mark and the Miracle from the Cross", *NTS* 33 (1987) 16–37; BRANSCOMBE, *Mark*, 299.

⁽⁹⁾ E. SCHWEIZER, *The Good News According to Mark* (London 1970) 354. Cf. B.M.F. VAN IERSEL (*Mark. A Reader-Response Commentary* [JSNTS 164; Sheffield 1998] 474) who argues that the event symbolises the end of the Temple establishment.

⁽¹⁰⁾ P. CARRINGTON, *According to Mark* (Cambridge 1960) 330.

signify the disruption of creation. As noted earlier, the establishing and maintenance of boundaries (e.g. against the sea, or death) is crucial to the process of creation and its preservation in the OT. The dissolution of such boundaries could therefore be seen as signifying a victory by the forces of chaos. It is surely significant that this action happens at the precise moment of Jesus' death, when chaos has triumphed and all is despair. At this moment, Jesus' victory remains three days in the future.

The second possibility stems from the colours of the temple curtain noted above. Both Josephus and Philo suggest that the four colours incorporated into it (blue, purple, crimson and white [2 Chr 3,14]) symbolise the four elements from which the cosmos was created — indeed, according to Josephus, a panorama of the cosmos was embroidered into the curtain (*BJ* 5.212-13). Thus, the temple curtain represented not only the boundary between earth and heaven, but the cosmos itself. On this basis — and this seems to me the most likely interpretation of the event — one could argue that the tearing of the temple curtain at the moment of Jesus' death signifies the rending of creation.

III. Conclusion

Taken together, the three elements of the passion narrative, the darkness that covers the land, the death of a creator figure and the tearing of the temple curtain, point towards the conclusion that the narrator saw the crucifixion as a *chaoskampf* — one in which Jesus is apparently defeated by the forces of chaos. Alongside the death of this creator figure, one may also see in the tearing of the temple curtain at least a figurative destruction of creation. The crucifixion as depicted in the synoptic gospels therefore demonstrates the unravelling of the old created order prior to the its renewal or, better, replacement, heralded by Jesus' resurrection. It is this theology of death, destruction and cosmic renewal (not unlike that of the Baal-Mot legend) that informs the synoptic passion narratives.

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SUMMARY

The depiction of the events surrounding the crucifixion in the Synoptic Gospels (particularly the darkness and the tearing of the temple curtain) have provoked widely varying responses from New Testament scholars. This article argues that the inclusion of these details in the narrative can be understood by reference to the *chaoskampf* typology of the Old Testament. Here, as elsewhere in the gospels (e.g. Matt 8,23-27; Mark 4,35-41; Luke 8,22-25), Jesus is presented as a creator figure who confronts the powers of chaos. In this instance however, the powers of chaos emerge temporarily triumphant. The old creation is destroyed, paving the way for a renewal of creation with Jesus's resurrection.

RES BIBLIOGRAPHICAE

Der historische David – Sein oder Schein?

Es gilt hier eine höchst bemerkenswerte Neuerscheinung anzuzeigen: Baruch Halperns Monographie *David's Secret Demons. Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King* ⁽¹⁾. In diesem Buch mischen sich in eigentümlicher Weise Konventionalität und Unkonventionalität.

Nach einer Einführung (i-xx) gliedert sich das Werk in fünf Hauptteile: I. Die biblische Darstellung Davids in den Samuelbüchern (1-53); II. Die kritische Infragestellung des biblischen Bildes (57-103); III. Davids Reich im Kontext der Nachbarstaaten Syrien-Palästinas (107-226); IV. Historische Studien zur Chronologie und Geographie der Davidüberlieferungen (227-259); V. Entwurf einer Davidbiographie (263-424). Es folgen noch ein "Appendix" zur Archäologie der Davidszeit (427-478), ein Nachwort, ein Sachregister und ein Register der zitierten Forscher (479-492) – leider keines der verwendeten Texte.

Insgesamt, so zeigt bereits der Überblick, will dies ein vorwiegend historisches Buch sein; das Ziel ist eine Darstellung der Zeit und des Lebens Davids. Welche *Quellen* nutzt der Autor dafür, und wie tut er es?

Da sind zunächst die *biblischen* Zeugnisse, namentlich die Samuel-Bücher ⁽²⁾. Die deuteronomistische Geschichtsschreibung — die früh, ins 7. Jh., angesetzt wird (131, n. 63) — interessiert den Verfasser wenig, da sie nach seinem Urteil die Sam-Bücher kaum tangiert hat: eine Grundentscheidung, die mit konträr gelagerten Arbeiten nicht diskutiert wird ⁽³⁾. Selbst ein Text wie 2 Sam 7, der allgemein als stark dtr bearbeitet gilt, erscheint hier als integraler Teil der vor-dtr Darstellung (33, 159, 339). Auch der Anhang 2 Sam 21–24 wird, ohne Rücksicht auf seine redaktionsgeschichtliche Sonderstellung, immer wieder fraglos einbezogen.

Halpern zeichnet zunächst das Davidbild der *Samuelbücher* nach. David "is human, fully, four-dimensionally, recognizably human. He grows, he learns, he travails, he triumphs, and he suffers immeasurable tragedy and loss. He is the first human being in world literature" (6). Immer wieder wird er als "surprising" (3), als "modern man" (13) geschildert. "His modernity, his rejection of conventional behavior and thought" ist durchgehender Zug der biblischen Darstellung (13). Dies entfaltet Vf. entlang den Texten in sieben

⁽¹⁾ Erschienen 2001 in der Reihe "The Bible and its World" bei William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids MI / Cambridge UK.

⁽²⁾ Erstaunlich häufig wird auch die Chronik zitiert, allerdings in der Regel nur zur Untermauerung der Argumentation.

⁽³⁾ Verwiesen sei speziell auf T. VEIJOLA, *Die ewige Dynastie*. David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung (AASF.B 198; Helsinki 1975).

Etappen (14-53). Dabei kommt es stellenweise zu wirklichem ‘close reading’ mit guten Einsichten in die literarische Gestalt des Textes. Über die Absalom-Revolte etwa heißt es: “all the events in it have two causes – a divine cause, which is obscure to the actors, and the actors’ own human motivations” (39)⁽⁴⁾.

Sind die Sam-Bücher also von hohem literarischem Rang, so interessiert den Historiker doch vornehmlich die Frage nach ihrer historischen Zuverlässigkeit. Einige Mühe verwendet Halpern darauf, die von den sog. ‘Minimalisten’ vertretene Spät(est)datierung der Sam-Bücher (und des Anfangs der Kön-Bücher) in die persische oder gar hellenistische Zeit zu widerlegen und ihre Entstehung in vorexilischer Zeit nachzuweisen. Hier einige der aufgegebenen Argumente: Die relative Unbefangenheit gegenüber mantischen Praktiken (1Sam 28) und verschiedenen Opferstätten weist in vor-dtn Zeit (22, 58). In 1Sam 13,21 begegnet eine Gewichtseinheit, mit der ausgegrabene Gewichte aus vorexilischer Zeit beschriftet sind: *pym* (57-58). “There is also linguistic evidence” (59): Sam weise überdurchschnittlich viele Defektivschreibungen auf (etwa in *’hrw* statt *’hrjw* in 2 Sam 23,1.9), während nachexilisch Pleneschreibung überwiege (59-60). “There is further evidence from language” (64): Die poetischen Texte 2 Sam 1,19-27 und 23,1-5 etwa sind “of great antiquity” und sicher vor die Prophetie des 7., wohl auch des 8. Jh.s zu datieren (64). Weiter die Topographie: Die Ortschaft Bahurim begegnet nicht (mehr) in den Listen des Jos-Buches (8./7. Jh.) noch gar in nachexilischen Listen. In Jos fehlt auch Nob, und Zela wird anders lokalisiert. Viele der Ortsnamen in den Listen von 2 Sam 21 und 23 kommen später nicht mehr vor (64-65). Die Sam-Bücher rechnen mit starker Besiedlung im zentralen Negev, der später kaum mehr besiedelt, nicht aber in der Schephela, die später dicht besiedelt war (65, 67). 1Sam 27,6 sagt, Ziklag gehöre ‘bis heute’ den Königen von Juda – was nur bis 701 Sinn mache (68). Sodann die “human landscape”: Die militärischen Abteilungen der Kreter und Pleter sowie der Gatiter verschwinden nach David (68-69). Davids Aufenthalt ausgerechnet in Gat hätten Spätere kaum erfunden, denn diese Stadt blühte nur im 10. Jh. (69). Schließlich das Vokabular: “Samuel is rich in unusual vocabulary and unusual phrases, not found in later texts” (69). Vf. zählt 70, n. 19 auf: *ḥšb* Nif. + *’l*, *hikkîr*, *srynym*, *prš b-* u.a. Dazu kommt das Onomastikon (70-71, n. 20): Nahray in 2 Sam 23,37 sei mittellassyrisch; Huschai bzw. die dazugehörige Wurzel sei ab dem 8. Jh. nicht mehr belegt; in 2 Sam begegneten ganze fünf Jhwh-haltige Eigennamen: ganz untypisch für spätere Zeiten.

Wird man dem Autor bis hierhin die Gefolgschaft kaum versagen können, so erscheint der nächste Schritt wesentlich kühner, ja überhastet: Die Sam-Bücher (und 1 Kön 1–10) sollen nicht nur vorexilisch, sondern zeitgenössisch sein! Schon in der Einführung wird statuiert: “What we are reading is a text stemming from circles close to David and Solomon” (xiv). “Samuel was written for David’s successor, Solomon” (xv).

Für den Passus von 1 Sam 8 bis 2 Sam 1 wagt sich Halpern über die Salomozeit sogar noch zurück: Hier seien zwei, aus der Davidszeit

(⁴) Ähnlich wieder 48, 94-95, 357-360, 367: ein Beispiel dafür, dass es in dem Buch mancherlei Wiederholungen, zuweilen auch Längen gibt.

stammende "sources" miteinander verbunden, die parallel zueinander den Aufstieg Davids geschildert hätten, wobei die eine ("A") ausführlich Saul-Überlieferungen einbeziehe, während die andere, angeblich etwas ältere ("B"), völlig auf David (und Samuel) zentriert sei. Eine tabellarische Wiedergabe der beiden 'Quellen' findet sich in einem "Appendix" zu Kap. V (277-279); inhaltlich charakterisiert werden sie kurz zuvor (263-266) und vor allem im Einleitungskapitel I (14-26). Eine eigentliche Begründung für diese Quellenscheidung wird nicht gegeben, sondern dafür auf eine frühere Monographie Halperns verwiesen (15, n. 3)⁽⁵⁾. Was erreicht er mit ihr? Vermeintlich lassen sich so Doppelungen (etwa die beiden Verschönerungsgeschichten 1Sam 24 und 26), Wiederholungen (etwa das Siegeslied der Frauen in 1Sam 18,7; 21,12; 29,5) oder Spannungen (etwa zwischen den verschiedenen Erzählungen vom Kommen Davids an den Hof Sauls in 1Sam 16–17, von seinem [Nicht-] Übertritt zu den Philistern, 1 Sam 21,11-16 / 1 Sam 27, oder von Sauls Tod in 1 Sam 31 / 2 Sam 1) besser erklären: "Some of the duplication arises from the combination of parallel sources" (19). Am Ende bleibt aber die Frage, wer die jetzige Redundanz verursacht haben soll. Vermutlich werden andere Modelle der Entstehung der Sam-Bücher dem komplexen Textbefund besser gerecht: z.B. die Annahme mehrerer (nicht nur zweier!) Unterquellen und ihrer Verknüpfung zu einem dann doch sehr stimmigen Gesamtwerk — wobei jene Dubletten bewusst eingesetzte Stilmittel des Schlussverfassers und nicht Relikte aus unterschiedlichen Quellen sein könnten⁽⁶⁾.

Aufs Ganze gesehen steht für Halpern fest: "most of David's story was written during Solomon's reign, and the object was both to glorify the founder of the dynasty and to advance Solomon's political position" (57). Es handele sich um eine "elaborate royal apology" (96), und es sei "inconceivable that the alibis of Samuel could have been written much after David's day" (101). Das ist konventionell, das hat man schon oft gelesen: in pietätvollem Ton bei L. Rost⁽⁷⁾ und G. von Rad⁽⁸⁾, in aufgeklärt kritischem Ton bei P.K. McCarter⁽⁹⁾, in respektlosem Ton bei Stefan Heym⁽¹⁰⁾. Zwischentöne aber — etwa, dass Quellenstücke alt, Großtexte bzw. Redaktionen aber jünger sein könnten, oder dass David und Salomo nicht einfach positiv, sondern

⁽⁵⁾ *The Constitution of the Monarchy in Israel* (Chico, CA 1981). Die hier geübte Art der Quellenkritik erinnert stark an diejenige, die in der früheren Pentateuchforschung gängig war, mittlerweile aber weitgehend als obsolet gilt.

⁽⁶⁾ Mit dem Buch des Rezensenten *Die frühe Königszeit in Israel*. 10. Jahrhundert v.Chr. (Biblische Enzyklopädie 3; Stuttgart 1997), in dem derartige Perspektiven präsentiert werden, befasst sich Halpern nicht.

⁽⁷⁾ *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids* (BWANT 42; Stuttgart 1926) = IDEM., *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum Alten Testament* (Heidelberg 1965) 119-253; engl. Übersetzung: *The Succession to the Throne of David* (Sheffield 1982).

⁽⁸⁾ Der Anfang der Geschichtsschreibung im alten Israel, in IDEM., *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (TB 8; München 1965) 148-188.

⁽⁹⁾ "The Apology of David", *JBL* 99 (1980) 489-504.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Der König David Bericht*. Roman (München 1972). Englisch: *The King David Report*. A Novel (New York 1973). Siehe dazu W. DIETRICH, "Von einem der zuviel wußte. Versuch über Stefan Heyms «König David Bericht»", *Von David zu den Deuteronomisten*. Studien zu den Geschichtsüberlieferungen des Alten Testaments (BWANT 156; Stuttgart 2002), 100-112.

ambivalent, teilweise sogar scharf kritisch dargestellt sind — entfallen. Halpern findet: “the biblical version, in the books of Samuel, presents a man who never did exist, a ruler altogether too good to be true” (xvi). Er hingegen biete “a glimpse of David as his enemies saw him... in a sense the opposite of the David of Samuel. He is the anti-David or, by implication, the anti-Messiah” (xv). Mit Eifer entfernt er die Tarnung, hinter der die biblischen Autoren — häufig schlicht “the apologist” genannt — den historischen David angeblich versteckt haben. Schon immer fand man ja auffällig, wie viele gewaltsame Todesfälle Davids Weg säumen und wie regelmäßig seine Unschuld versichert wird. Für Halpern steht fest: David war ein “serial killer” (73). Geleitet von einer ausgeprägten Hermeneutik des Verdachts, präsentiert er “Ten Little Indians” (77), bei deren Ableben David seine Hand im Spiel gehabt habe.

Im einzelnen sind dies:

— Nabal (1 Sam 25): Hier fungierte Nabals Gattin Abigajil als Davids Handlangerin (77);

— Saul und drei seiner Söhne (1 Sam 31): David war bei der Schlacht von Gilboa auf Seiten der Philister dabei (79); “the report of his absence from the battle is extremely implausible” (296);

— Eschbaal (2 Sam 4): Gibeon war mit David alliiert, die Tötung der gibeonitischen Mörder diente nur der Spurenverwischung (82);

— Abner (2 Sam 3): “The exculpation is longer than the story” (83); nicht nur Abner sei getötet worden, sondern es sei zu einem “ruthless slaughter of the guests at a peace conference” gekommen (308);

— alle weiteren Saulnachkommen bis auf Meribaal: Unstrittig hat David eine Massenhinrichtung angeordnet (2 Sam 21), “doubtful” ist aber, dass ihr eine größere Hungersnot voranging (342); Michal wird kaltgestellt (2 Sam 6,21-23: “Though there is no evidence that Michal was murdered, she does not appear after this episode”, 313); Meribaal war nicht etwa Objekt der Fürsorge Davids (2 Sam 9), sondern dessen “hostage” (342);

— Amnon (2 Sam 13): Der Prinz war über seine Mutter, Sauls Frau (!?) Ahinoam, ein Saulide (87, 314); “David had a problem, which Absalom solved” (89);

— Absalom (2 Sam 18): Wer weiß, was “David may have communicated to his commanders privately” (90 – eine völlig textfreie Unterstellung!);

— Amasa (2 Sam 20): “perhaps the clearest assassination in which David is implicated” (90; bezeichnenderweise wird Joab auch hier wieder nicht bestraft);

— Urija (2 Sam 11): Eigentlich ist unverständlich, warum an diesem Todesfall plötzlich und ausdrücklich David die Schuld gegeben wird; dieser hätte das Vaterschaftsproblem gewiss auch anders lösen können (94; dieses Rätsel wird Halpern später lösen...).

Das sind noch keineswegs alle Bluttaten, deren David bezichtigt wird. 2 Sam 8,2 erwähnt die Massakrierung moabitischer Gefangener, wozu Halpern bemerkt: “We may... assume that it was his standard practice” (161). Oder: Absalom hatte nach 2 Sam 14,27 drei Söhne, nach 2 Sam 18,18 plötzlich keine mehr – wer wohl hat sie auf dem Gewissen? (385-387).

Man hat den Eindruck, Halpern steigere sich bei der Aufdeckung

möglicher Verbrechen der Davidszeit in einen Blut- oder doch Aufklärungsrausch. Er will der Anwalt für "David's enemies" sein ("we allow the silent to speak", xv) und das fein gesponnene Lügengespinnst der biblischen "apology" zerreißen: "We know that Samuel is accurate because it is nothing but lies" (100). Diese Position ist, gelinde gesagt, unkonventionell⁽¹¹⁾. Ihre Basis indes, die pauschale Frühdatierung der Sam-Bücher und deren undifferenzierte Einschätzung als Hofpropaganda, ist höchst fragwürdig.

Was orientalische "Royal Propaganda" ist (113), weiß Halpern aus *außerbiblischen Quellen*. Für besonders eng mit den Sam-Büchern verwandt hält er Inschriften des mittellassyrischen Herrschers Tiglat-Pileser I. (Ende 12. Jh.) und des Hethiters Tukulti-Ninurta (Anfang 9. Jh.); für ihn ein weiterer Hinweis auf die Entstehung der biblischen Texte "shortly after David's death" (112; dabei gibt es ähnliche Texte durchaus auch aus späterer Zeit). Für den Orient typisch seien "display inscriptions", deren Ordnung nicht durch die Chronologie, sondern durch die Geographie oder die Inhalte bestimmt ist. Eben dies beobachtet Halpern auch an 1 Kön 3–10: einer weiteren "contemporary vision" (114)⁽¹²⁾. Motive wie das Sammeln von Tieren, von Pferden und Wagen fänden sich hier wie dort (117–123). Kennzeichen solch höfischer Geschichtsschreibung seien anonyme Verfasserschaft, Ausrichtung auf die Elite, Verklärung des Herrschers, übertreibende Schilderung seiner Taten usw. (124–132; mag all dies auf 1 Kön 3–10 zutreffen, so sind doch die Sam-Bücher weithin aus anderem Stoff gemacht!).

Immerhin bleibt beachtlich, wie Halpern die biblischen Texte in ihre altorientalischen Kontexte einzuordnen versucht: etwa die Liste davidischer 'Kriege und Siege' in 2 Sam 8, die in der Tat einiges mit Königsinschriften gemein hat (133–207); oder die in 2 Sam 6 und 1Kön 8 geschilderten Festlichkeiten, die an die Einweihung der Hauptstadt Kalah durch Assurnasirpal (im 9. Jh.) erinnern (333–335); oder die Mitnahme der Lade beim Auszug aus Jerusalem in 2 Sam 15, zu der es eine Parallele in einer Inschrift Tiglat-Pileses I. gibt (43). Seine weit ausgreifende Bildung verrät der Autor auch durch gelegentliche Seitenblicke auf Hellas: etwa wenn er die biblische Historiographie mit derjenigen Herodots ("historiographer") und Thukydides' ("chronicler") vergleicht (108–109) oder die "double causation" in 2 Sam 12–20 mit der Ödipus-Tragödie (360–361).

Neben biblischen und ausserbiblischen Texten ist es vor allem die *Archäologie*, auf die Halpern sich stützt. Es verwundert nicht, dass er als Mit-Direktor der gegenwärtigen Ausgrabung in Megiddo sich immer wieder auf diese Leitgrabung bezieht. Ganz konventionell, wenn auch mit neuer, detaillierter Begründung, verbindet er das Sechskammertor von Megiddo (Gate 2156) samt anschließender Inset-Offset-Mauer mit Stratum VA-IVB, und dieses — zusammen mit den Schichten VIII in Geser und X-IX in Hazor

⁽¹¹⁾ Sie berührt sich freilich auffällig mit derjenigen, die S.L. McKENZIE in seinem Buch *King David. A Biography* (Oxford 2000) einnimmt. Halpern erwähnt dieses Werk nicht, konnte es vielleicht noch nicht erwähnen.

⁽¹²⁾ Auch dies wieder ist eine fragwürdige Frühdatierung, vgl. etwa S. WÄLCHLI, *Der weise König Salomo*. Eine Studie zu den Erzählungen von der Weisheit Salomos in ihrem alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Kontext (BWANT 141; Stuttgart 1999), der das 'Buch der Salomogeschichte' ins 8. Jahrhundert ansetzt.

und den dortigen Sechskammertoren (Architekturpläne: 214-218) — mit der Salomozeit bzw. der Städtebauliste 1 Kön 9,15-19 (212-219, 433-450). Ausführlich setzt er sich dabei mit D. Ussishkin auseinander, der jenes Tor Megiddo IVA zuweisen und so ins 9. Jh. datieren möchte (439-443)⁽¹³⁾. Ebenso konventionell wendet er sich gegen die 'lower chronology' seines zweiten Mit-Direktors, I. Finkelstein (451-453)⁽¹⁴⁾. Seiner Ansicht nach sichern Scherben von collared-rim-jars und von bichromer Keramik sowie drei Radiokarbon-Proben die Datierung von Megiddo VI ins späte 11. oder frühe 10. Jh. und damit die Errichtung von Megiddo VA-IVB (und Hazor X sowie Geser VIII) noch im 10. Jh., d.h. durch Salomo (453; übersichtliche Tabellen mit historisch klassifizierter Schichtenfolge von 14 bzw. 18 Grabungen: 380 bzw. 477). Dass die Städte Salomos keine nennenswerte Wohnbebauung aufwiesen, passt zu dessen Strategie, die lokale Bevölkerung zu entmachten und die Verwaltung strikt zu zentralisieren (221). Diese wiederum führe auf dem Land zu einer archäologisch nachweisbaren "social stratification", bedingt durch den Rückgang der kleinbäuerlichen Subsistenzwirtschaft (422).

Im Unterschied zum Wirken Salomos lässt sich dasjenige seiner Vorgänger archäologisch mangels Monumentalbauten kaum greifen (225)⁽¹⁵⁾. Immerhin, die Zerstörung des Stratum Megiddo VIA könnte auf Saul oder Eschbaal (oder die Anhängerschaft Abschaloms) zurückgehen (376-377). Für den Erzähzug der Dekapitierung des toten Saul lässt sich auf ein Grab in Lachisch verweisen, in dem im Jahr 701 v.Chr. die Köpfe Hunderter Hingerichteter beigesetzt wurden (24). Von David gibt es ebenfalls kaum Spuren, nicht einmal in Jerusalem (318-320). Das ist nach Halpern erklärlich: Die Stadt war nach 2 Sam 5 lediglich "a minor fortification", wurde von David auch nicht ausgebaut und lag zudem wohl auf dem Tempelberg, womit sie sich archäologischer Nachforschung ohnehin entzieht. Wohl aber ist eine starke Besiedlung des zentralen Negev im 10. Jh. nachgewiesen⁽¹⁶⁾, was mit Davids Kampagnen gegen Edom und Amalek zusammenhängen wird (244-245, 353-355). David habe dazu möglicherweise Kolonisten aus Israel deportiert (384-385, begründet mit angeblich israelitischen Keramikformen). Vielleicht lässt sich auch Davids Auseinandersetzung mit den Philistern archäologisch untermauern: durch die Verbindung des Ausdrucks *mtg h'mh* in 2 Sam 5,21 mit dem inschriftlich belegten Namen der Göttin *ptgy/h* (Ekron, 7. Jh.: 320-321).

Wie sieht nun das *historische Bild* der frühen Königszeit aus, das sich

⁽¹³⁾ D. USSISHKIN, "Notes on Megiddo, Gezer, Ashdod, and Tel Batash in the Tenth to Ninth Centuries B.C.", *BASOR* 277/278 (1990) 71-91.

⁽¹⁴⁾ I. FINKELSTEIN, "The Date of the Settlement of the Philistines in Canaan", *TA* 22 (1995) 213-239; IDEM., "The Archaeology of the United Monarchy. An Alternative View", *Levant* 28 (1996) 177-187; IDEM., "The Stratigraphy and Chronology of Megiddo and Beth-Shean in the 12th-11th Centuries B.C.E.", *TA* 23 (1996) 170-184; IDEM., "Hazor and the North in the Iron Age: A Low Chronology Perspective", *BASOR* 314 (1999) 55-70; IDEM., "State Formation in Israel and Judah. A Contrast in Context, a Contrast in Trajectory", *NEA* 62 (1999) 35-52.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Insofern ist die Überschrift des Schlusskapitels "The Archaeology of David's Reign", 427, etwas irreführend.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Vgl. die Kartenskizze, 245 – eine von vielen in dem Buch.

Halpern aus seinen Quellenstudien ergibt? Von vornherein unbestreitbar erscheint ihm die "very historicity of the United Monarchy". Die sog. Minimalisten⁽¹⁷⁾ dächten nur in den Kategorien von 'Alles' (die Sam-Bücher sind korrekt) oder 'Nichts' (die Sam-Bücher sind Erfindung); dabei erlaube die kritische Analyse der Quellen eine Rekonstruktion der historischen Wirklichkeit. (Ist dies etwa der Altar, auf dem die literarische Schönheit und die theologische und anthropologische Tiefgründigkeit der David-Erzählungen geopfert werden?) "In the end, attacks on the reality of David are unrealistic" (102). Die Behauptung, Jerusalem sei vor dem 8./7. Jh. viel zu klein gewesen, um die Voraussetzungen für eine Staatsbildung zu bieten, sei "misleading": Ein Blick auf das Sparta der Ilias oder die Kriegszüge Hannibals und der Mongolen zeige, dass Demographie kein historischer Generalschlüssel sei (211).

Positioniert Halpern sich insoweit konventionell, so hat er über *Person und Regierung Davids* doch einiges Unkonventionelle zu sagen. Das gilt noch nicht so sehr von seinem Namen, Herkunftsort und -familie (266-277; interessant indes die Betonung der unscheinbaren Belegstelle 2 Sam 2,32: 274), wohl aber schon für seine Jugend: Es sei fraglich, ob er je an Sauls Hof gedient habe (283, mit Verweis auf 2 Sam 21 und 23). Die Beziehung zu Jonatan sei "probably invented" (283), die frühe Verbindung mit Michal wohl ebenfalls (284); die Klage auf Saul und Jonatan in 2 Sam 1 "is part of David's alibi for Saul's death" und somit historisch nicht auswertbar (284). Historisch war David "a bandit" (286); die Landschaft Juda sei ab dem 8.Jh. viel zu dicht besiedelt gewesen, als dass dieser Topos dann noch hätte erfunden werden können (287). Ferner: "It is certain that he served Achish" (288). In dessen Dienst half er Saul besiegen (79.296). Die "territorial expansion into the hills of Judah was probably a reward for his service in the battle of Jezreel" (303). Juda gewann er "ruthless, through the imposition of terror. He created, rather than basing himself on, the tribe of Judah" (292). Die Akklamation des Volkes (2 Sam 2,1-4) ist typische Aufsteiger-Ideologie (297-298); sie war "never more than rhetorical" (299). Die Übersiedlung nach Jerusalem ereignete sich mit philistäischem Einverständnis, ebenso die Überführung der Lade; diese aber erfolgte kaum so rasch, wie die Bibel will, denn es ist "a convention of Near Eastern royal literature to antedate cultic activity to the very start of a reign" (336). Zeitlebens errichtete David keinen Tempel und auch sonst keine öffentlichen Bauten – schlicht, weil er nicht über die nötigen Ressourcen verfügte (340).

Fast sein gesamtes Leben lang rang er um die Herrschaft über *Israel*. Seine Avancen an die saultreuen Jabeschiter (2 Sam 2,5-7) wurden abgewiesen (301); vielleicht zerstörte er den Ort zur Strafe (302) und protegierte dafür Abel Mehola (302, 344: typisch für die Verschlagenheit Davids – oder für die Phantasiebegabtheit Halperns?). Trotz jahrelangem Bürgerkrieg, in dem er "probably" die Unterstützung der Philister genoss (326), blieb ihm der Norden verschlossen. Dort hatte sich eine Ideologie des "ethnic warfare" und des "nativism" herausgebildet und als Folge dessen "an

(17) 73, n.1, findet sich folgende Namensliste: J. Van Seters, T.L. Thompson, P.R. Davies, J.W. Flanagan, D.W. Jamieson-Drake. Die Namen H. Friis, L. Grabbe, N.P. Lemche fehlen hier und figurieren auch nicht im Register.

Israelite identity“. David aber “reversed the policy of nativism, and in fact allied with all the surrounding non-Israelite communities in order to exert pressure on Israel itself” (312, auch 347-348). Die Israeliten verziehen ihm das nie, wie die Scheba-Parole (2 Sam 20,1) zeigt (312; übrigens soll der damalige Dualismus Juda-Israel bereits die genetischen Grundlagen für die Spaltung in aschkenasisches und sephardisches Judentum gelegt haben! 384). Erst “to the very end of his reign” (337) gelang es David, den Widerstand des Nordens zu brechen. Die Möglichkeit zum “conquest of Israel” bot ihm der Absalom-Aufstand (347). Die Israeliten kämpften auf Abschaloms Seite “not as rebels, but as foreign allies” (366). Sie erhofften sich bei einem Sieg die Durchsetzung ihrer ethnischen Ansprüche gegen “non-Israelites” (367) und Rache für die Ausrottung der Sauliden (371). Sie (oder auch David bzw. seine philistäischen Verbündeten) verursachten eine Reihe von “destruction layers”: in Megiddo VIA, Dan V, Jokneam XVII, Bet Schean VI, Tel Hadar IV, Tell el-Oreime V, Qasile X und Dor (374-379). Den Sieg im Gebirge Efraim verdankte David nicht so sehr, wie der Erzähler will, dem waldreichen Gelände, sondern dem Beistand der Philister und Ammoniter (373-374). Auf Ganze gesehen hatte der Aufstand für David derart günstige Folgen, dass er ihn wohl selber inaugurieren wird (380). Das unterworfenen Israel hat er, anders als später Salomo, nicht mit schweren Steuern und Zwangsarbeit belegt (385, 388). So blieb sein Staat relativ bescheiden, auch wenn sich in den Listen 2 Sam 8,16-18 und 20,23-26 schwache Anfänge einer Bürokratie zeigen (352).

Die Informationen zu Davids *Außenpolitik* entnimmt Halpern hauptsächlich dem Kapitel 2 Sam 8 (133-226). Dessen “display”-Charakter (134. 137) führt ihn zu der wagemutigen Hypothese, es könne dies der Text einer “royal inscription” aus der Frühzeit Davids sein, der auf der in 8,3.13 erwähnten Stele gestanden habe (141. 204)!

Hier einige der gewonnenen Einsichten:

— *Philister*: Dass sie eine Einheit gebildet hätten (so 2 Sam 8,1 und die Sam-Bücher immer wieder), “is nothing more than a propagandistic myth” (146). Die Bibel stellt David als Philisterfeind dar; in Wahrheit arbeitete er überwiegend mit ihnen zusammen: “he not only started out as a Philistine agent, he remained their ally throughout his reign” (281, ähnlich 294. 296 u.ö.). Erst nach der Übersiedlung nach Jerusalem legt er sich mit ihnen an – vielmehr: mit “forces of a kingdom whom David’s apologist identified with the Philistines” (326, ähnlich 346 u.ö.). Nie kämpfte David gegen Philister außerhalb des Berglands (151); sein Herrschaftsgebiet reichte nach Westen nie weiter als bis Gezer (150). Im Grenzgebiet lebten noch die Gibeoniter, die sowohl mit David wie mit den Philistern verbündet waren (306-307. 310). Davids lebenslange Kooperation mit Gat und Gibeon bedeutete eine Schwächung des bis dahin dominierenden Ekron (327-332).

— *Aram*: Die in 2 Sam 8,3.13 erwähnte Stele stand mitnichten am Euphrat, sondern am Jordan (164-165; handelt es sich aber, trotz zweier unterschiedlicher Wörter, wirklich um Stelen, und ist es ein und dieselbe, und hat David sie aufgerichtet?). Die Aramäer ‘von jenseits des Flusses’ (2 Sam 10,16) sind darum einfach diejenigen von Zoba und Damaskus, von denen auch in 8,3-8 die Rede ist (189). Aram-Damaskus wurde keineswegs in vollem Umfang erobert und tributpflichtig, sondern lediglich ein kleines

Teilgebiet im Süden (191). Mehrfach bietet Halpern lehrreiche Abhandlungen zu den Aramäern des 10. und 9. Jh.s (167-186, 467-472 u.ö.)⁽¹⁸⁾.

— *Ammon, Moab, Edom*: Über Moab (bzw. einige Moabiter) hat David nicht mehr als einen einzigen Sieg errungen; von dauerhafter Besetzung und von Abgaben ist in 2 Sam 8,2 nicht die Rede (161-163). Der Krieg gegen Ammon (2 Sam 10-12) war zugleich der Hebel zur Gewinnung Gileads (348-351); das Land wurde aber nicht dauerhaft besetzt. Anders Edom, das David laut 2 Sam 8,14 und 1 Kön 11,15-16 schwer malträtierete und durch Gouverneure verwalten ließ (345-346). Amos 6,14 und 2 Kön 14,15 machen über jeden Zweifel klar, dass David in der Tat transjordanische Gebiete unterworfen hat (250-257).

Die kanaanitischen Städte hat David *nicht* besiegt, sonst wäre es unweigerlich in 2 Sam 8 vermerkt; dieses Verdienst kommt vielmehr (Saul oder) Eschbaal zu (154-155, 356 u.ö. – eine schon angesichts von 2 Sam 2,9 fragwürdige Behauptung). Ebenso hat David gegenüber den Amalekitem eine Politik des "rapprochement" betrieben (355). So lässt sich insgesamt sagen: "the picture is relatively modest" (195). Doch bald schon setzte der Vorgang der "magnification" ein, der zur Vorstellung eines davidischen Großreiches führte (246).

In seine Geschichtsrekonstruktion bezieht Halpern auch *Salomo* ein. Hinsichtlich der Thronfolgefrage ist er überzeugt, dass "David... stood behind Adonijah's candidacy" (395). Der Grund ist einfach: "Solomon was not David's son" (401). Darauf weist nach Halpern Mehreres: sein Name, der ihn als 'Ersatz' ausweist – nicht etwa für ein verstorbenes älteres Brüderchen (die Episode 2 Sam 12,*15-24 ist "probably invented", 403), sondern für seinen Vater Urija (401-402)⁽¹⁹⁾; seine Nicht-Einladung zu Adonijas Bankett, zu dem ausdrücklich alle Prinzen geladen waren (402); das Engagement Ahitofels für Absalom, das nicht verständlich wäre, wenn sein Enkel Salomo natürliche Thronansprüche gehabt hätte (402). Die unzutreffende Vorstellung, David sei der Vater Salomos gewesen, ist erst durch die Skandalgeschichte 2 Sam 11-12 geweckt worden. Davids bzw. Salomos Apologeten hatten also an diesem Punkt ausnahmsweise nicht das Interesse, eine Schuld Davids zu bemänteln, sondern sie gerade zu erfinden — so perfide ist die Bibel! Durch ihre spätere Intrige zugunsten Salomos (1 Kön 1,11-21) wird Batscheba dann den Tod ihres Vaters Ahitofel rächen — und denjenigen Abschaloms (406). "Solomon's enthronement was revolutionary; it realized Absalom's aim" (406). Folgerichtig ändern sich alsbald die außenpolitischen Koordinaten: Salomo was "probably an Egyptian vasall and protégé" (397-398 – bis sich unter Schischak das Blatt wendete, 408)⁽²⁰⁾; mit ägyptischer Hilfe (vgl. 1 Kön 9,16) entwand er den Philistern die Kontrolle

⁽¹⁸⁾ Dabei setzt sich Vf. intensiv mit N. Na'aman auseinander, noch nicht aber mit E. LIPINSKI's, *The Aramaeans. Their History, Culture, Religion* (OLA 100; Leuven 2000).

⁽¹⁹⁾ Halpern beruft sich dafür (37, n. 25; 401, n. 27) auf eine Studie T. VEIJOLA: "Salomo – der Erstgeborene Bathsebas", *VTS* 30 (1979), 230-250; wieder abgedruckt in IDEM., *David. Gesammelte Studien zu den Davidüberlieferungen des Alten Testaments* (Helsinki – Göttingen 1990) 84-105. Für Veijola ist indes eindeutig David der Vater Salomos, und Batscheba sucht das gerade zu vertuschen, indem sie mit der Namengebung Urijas Vaterschaft als möglich hinstellt (89). Halpern ist einer der wenigen, die auf diesen Trick hereingefallen sind!

über Kanaan (407; hierhin passt auch Ri 1,27-35: 411). Dass er andererseits Land an Tyrus abtreten musste (1 Kön 9,10-14), beschönigt der Apologist, "masking loss as a bargain" (409). Ausführlich (412-419) analysiert Halpern die Liste 1 Kön 4,7-19. "Overall, there is any indication that the list of Solomon's administrative districts stems from his time" (416-417; die in dem Dokument auftretenden 'Menschen ohne Namen' erklären sich schlicht aus einer Beschädigung des Papyrus, 413-414)⁽²¹⁾. Die Liste zeigt zusammen mit 1Kön 12, dass Salomo im Norden schwere Steuern erhob (419). Der dagegen rebellierende Jerobeam war "Shishaq's creature" (419). Er respektierte nach der gelungenen Separation von Jerusalem wieder die "traditional kinship structures" und nahm überhaupt die Politik Sauls wieder auf (420-421). Auf die Dauer aber setzte sich das Modell Salomos durch: im Norden unter Omri, im Süden unter Manasse (421).

Dies also ist das geschichtliche Bild der frühen Königszeit, das Halpern entwirft. Was daran unkonventionell ist, verdankt sich weniger der Erschließung neuer Quellen als der unkonventionellen Art der Quellennutzung: dem ungewöhnlichen Maß an Mut und Phantasie, mit dem sie interpretiert und amplifiziert, korrigiert und kombiniert werden. Das ist anregend und lehrreich, zuweilen amüsant und provokant, oft genug aber allzu gewagt und wohl auch verfehlt. Aufs Ganze gesehen, entsteht von David ein eher ernüchterndes, mitunter geradezu abstoßendes Bild, das hier und dort der historischen Realität nahe kommen, sie aber keineswegs überall treffen dürfte. So wird dem auf dem Schutzumschlag wiedergegebenen Urteil R.E. Friedmans kaum ganz zuzustimmen sein, *David's Secret Demons* sei "a century more advanced than any other book about David". Zu sehr bleibt Halpern dafür herkömmlicher historischer Kritik verpflichtet und zu wenig wird er der Eigendynamik und Ästhetik der biblischen Texte gerecht. Gleichwohl: "This book is brilliant".

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⁽²⁰⁾ Mit B.U. SCHIPPER, *Israel und Ägypten in der Königszeit*. Die kulturellen Kontakte von Salomo bis zum Fall Jerusalems (OBO 170; Fribourg – Göttingen 1999), diskutiert Halpern noch nicht.

⁽²¹⁾ Dies ist eine durchaus erwägenswerte Gegenthese zu derjenigen A. ALTS (die freilich Halpern nicht als solche wahr genommenen zu haben scheint): "Menschen ohne Namen", *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (München 1959) III, 198-213.

RECENSIONES

Vetus Testamentum

Jacob MILGROM, *Leviticus 23-27. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3B). New York, Doubleday, 2001. xxi-pp. 1895-2714. 16 × 24. \$50.00- Can\$75.00

This volume completes Milgrom's trilogy on Leviticus and forms the culmination of a lifetime's work on the book. It is the second of two volumes on the Holiness Code (H). The introduction to Leviticus 17-27 is found in his second volume, *Leviticus 17-22* (Anchor Bible 3A), while this third volume (AB 3B) has the bibliography to 3A and 3B, as well as the indexes to all three volumes (3, 3A, 3B). There are also several appendices which are mainly replies to various reviewers and others who have commented on M.'s work; one appendix gives five pages of addenda and corrigenda.

Milgrom's approach to Leviticus is that which has sometimes been characterized as the "Kaufmann school", after Yezekeil Kaufmann. Those such as Menahem Haran, Milgrom, and others have dated the Priestly Document (P) early, at least as early as the period of the monarchy, if not earlier (Milgrom sees much of P as being pre-monarchic). Members of the Kaufmann school (such as Israel Knohl and Milgrom) have also had a tendency to date H as later than P, contrary to the convention since Wellhausen. H depends on and revises P, while the Deuteronomist (D) is dependent on and reacting to H. According to M., the base document of H goes back to the time of Hezekiah, except for a few verses in Lev 23 (from the exilic period, known as HR). It should be noted, however, that one does not have to ascribe to M.'s views on these issues to benefit from his commentary.

One of the key features of M.'s commentary is the frequent citation of rabbinic literature and medieval commentators. It seems clear that the rabbis did not always understand Leviticus in its original context, but their views should be considered. After all, they may have preserved traditions of interpretation and context that are not otherwise available to us. But M. also frequently cites from Second Temple Jewish literature: it comes as a pleasant surprise to see Philo quoted at length in some contexts. The question of whether the early Jewish literature is relevant to understanding Leviticus will be answered differently by different scholars, and one may not always agree with M.'s assessment, but he is quite correct to consider the statements of some of our earliest commentators on this complex text.

What strikes one from M.'s observations on the cultic calendar (ch. 23) is the extent to which the observances became more and more removed from

their original celebration which was tied closely to the agricultural year: as the cultic activities were centralized and made national celebrations, they ceased to correspond with the actual situation of the growing season in many cases. It is mainly in ch. 23 that M. sees redactional activity over a considerable period of time; for example, the references to the Sabbath were a late introduction, dating from the exilic period. It is common to interpret "sabbath" in 23,15 as "weeks", but this is an unnecessary assimilation to Deut 16,9. Although "sabbath" in time came to include "week" among its meanings, there is no reason to think it did so this early. The passage is straight forward: one is to count "seven sabbaths", ending on "the morrow after the seventh sabbath" for the Feast of Weeks. Therefore, M.'s translation of the term as "sabbath-week" is unjustified, though he eventually comes to the same conclusion of when Pentecost was intended to be celebrated.

The law of talion (24,17-22), so often misunderstood by moderns, is given a good discussion. M. does not seem to add anything original, but he includes the main considerations. Contrary to those who assume the law of talion was a "barbaric" holdover from a more primitive state of society, talion was a later development than financial compensation for injury, as a comparison of the various Mesopotamian law codes indicates. How often it was actually applied is a question, but it had the advantage of making all persons equal and it represented the move from community law to state law. It is important to understand the law in its original context, whatever one thinks of it from a modern point of view.

The sabbatical and jubilee years are also given a thorough airing. M. himself seems to accept that the jubilee year was probably hypothetical only and never observed in reality (unlike the sabbatical year whose observance is clearly attested in Second Temple sources, catalogued in Lester L. Grabbe, "Maccabean Chronology: 167-164 or 168-165 BCE?", *JBL* 110 [1991] 160-63).

However, an appendix by Lisbeth S. Fried and David Noel Freedman argues that the jubilee was observed, based on an interpretation of Jer 34,8-22. This is mainly speculation, but a misleading interpretation of the word *d'rôr* in Jer 34,8 is given: the word simply means "release" and need not imply "jubilee". Lev 25, the only description we have of the jubilee year, says nothing about the release of slaves (except for those Israelites who become debt slaves to resident aliens - vv. 47-55). The main jubilee components (the return of property and the fallow year) are not mentioned in Jer 34; furthermore, the law about the release of slaves quoted in Jer 34,14 is not from Lev 25 but is closest to Exod 21,2. M. is right; there is no evidence that the jubilee was ever observed. Two fallow years in a row would have been disastrous for agriculture and food production.

The laws of tithing and the support of the priesthood are very difficult to understand (ch. 27). M. makes a valiant effort but confesses that they cannot be harmonized (2434). One of the most puzzling laws is that of tithing livestock (27,32-33). The law as it is framed does not make sense: to tithe the herd each year would decimate it (literally!). Also, the gift of the firstlings would already constitute roughly a tenth of the young produced in the herds and flocks. Most other passages dealing with tithes say nothing of tithing livestock. The actual situation is difficult to ascertain. (On the tithe in

Babylonia, cf. M. Jursa, *Der Tempelzehnt in Babylonien vom siebten bis zum dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr.* [AOAT 254; Münster 1998]).

The three volumes give almost 3000 pages of introduction and commentary, distilling a lifetime's work on Leviticus. The sheer volume of information will be welcome to any student of Leviticus, and there are useful observations and acute insights on almost every page. This will be tempered by many controversial views, some already noted above. Others include the argument that neither P nor H presuppose a single sanctuary, that the day was reckoned from dawn to dawn (1967-1970), that Lev 17-27 presupposes the time of Hezekiah when social injustice and criminality were rife (1372), and that money was the accepted medium of exchange by the 9th century BCE (2243). The wealth of information often tends to overwhelm the reader in a mass of data without good guideposts through it. The result is that M.'s own views and especially his conclusions are not always clear. This leads us inevitably to the present state of the Anchor Bible.

Reasonably trim in its youth, the Anchor Bible has developed a pronounced middle-aged spread and badly needs a crash diet. Some recent volumes are, frankly, grossly self-indulgent. This is not the case with M.'s volumes, yet the introduction and commentary on sixteen chapters could be done in less than 1200 pages, while the last eleven chapters take almost twice as much space. M. has crammed a great deal of useful material into the space, but he seems to have tried too hard to incorporate everything in his notes. With a greater economy of writing style and tighter editing, the two volumes on Leviticus 17-27 could have been reduced to one. The Anchor Bible editors need to get a grip on their authors, but this is difficult when Freedman himself seems to be one of the worst offenders.

The bibliography is good on the whole, supplementing that in vol. 1, but there is a certain sloppiness at times, with series titles and other information sometimes omitted. Unaccountably, Gunneweg (A.H.J. Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester: Hauptlinien der Traditionsbildung und Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Kultpersonals* [FRLANT 89; Göttingen 1965]) is omitted from all three volumes. For the sake of completeness, my small volume should be added (Lester L. Grabbe, *Leviticus* [Old Testament Guides; Sheffield 1993]). A few books cited in the text are not found in the bibliography (e.g., Douglas forthcoming [2121]; Safren forthcoming [Safren 1999?, 2165]; Smith 1965 [2168]; Stern 1991 [2417]; Wright 1980 [2242-2243]). GrapplLewis 1985 (2314) should be Gropp/Lewis 1985. The detailed subject index is very welcome, but there are some gaps (e.g., "debt" and "interest" are not there). There are also indexes of citations and modern authors.

Both M. and his many admirers will be pleased at the completion of his massive Leviticus commentary. It is a major achievement and one unlikely to be surpassed in sheer volume of information and interpretation for a long time to come. Those of us who work in the area of Leviticus owe him a considerable debt.

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Tremper LONGMAN, *Song of Songs* (New International Commentary on the Old Testament). Grand Rapids, Michigan – Cambridge, U.K., William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001. xvi-238 p. 16,5 × 24. \$35.00 – €24.99

Il Cantico dei Cantici è stato oggetto, negli ultimi anni, di numerosi studi, e si comprende, data la sensibilità attuale per la problematica della sessualità e della donna. Dopo essere stato per secoli interpretato allegoricamente, il Cantico viene letto oggi, a ragione, come un libro sulla sessualità umana. Ma anche questo tipo di lettura non è esente da rischi ermeneutici, nel senso che spesso si cerca in questo libro una conferma delle ideologie di moda. Non è facile trovare un commento allo stesso tempo aperto alla problematica attuale e fedele al testo biblico. Il volume di T. Longman è una lodevole eccezione. Esso si inserisce nella collana «New International Commentary on the Old Testament» (NICOT), che vuole mettere insieme rigore scientifico e attenzione pastorale, partendo dal presupposto del carattere canonico del testo (così R.L. Hubbard, nella «General Editor's Preface», xii). Il libro consta di una pregevole *Introduzione* (1-83), in cui l'autore tratta i seguenti temi: titolo (1-2), autore (2-9: T. Longman propende, controcorrente, per un autore maschile del poema), stile letterario (9-17), linguaggio (17-19), data (19), testo (19-20), storia dell'interpretazione (20-47), genere letterario (48-49), paralleli antico-orientali (49-54), struttura (54-56), situazione canonica (56-58), significato e teologia (58-70), bibliografia (70-83), e di un *Commento* versetto per versetto del Cantico stesso, diviso in 23 poemi (87-222). Segue un *Indice* dei contenuti (223-224), degli autori (225-228), dei passi biblici (229-234) e delle parole straniere (235-238). Si tratta di un volume compatto e leggibile, che si indirizza a un pubblico non soltanto di esegeti di professione, ma anche di pastori e laici interessati. Nella lista degli autori citati spiccano soprattutto i lavori di R.E. Murphy, M. Pope e O. Keel, a cui l'autore spesso si richiama, pur mantenendo una propria autonomia.

Il pregio maggiore del libro sta nella prospettiva di fondo con cui il discorso sulla sessualità è affrontato: una prospettiva equilibrata, che non ricusa di chiamare le cose con il proprio nome, chiarendo le allusioni erotiche di cui abbonda il Cantico senza ricorrere a eufemismi e ad allegorizzazioni, e, d'altra parte, rispettosa del carattere morale e teologico che caratterizza il discorso biblico. Il Cantico è «un poema che celebra l'amore umano e la sessualità» (xiii), come campo privilegiato della «relazione» (*relationship*), questa parte «meravigliosa, misteriosa, spesso elusiva, talora dolorosa dell'esperienza umana», che offre «una forte analogia alla più fondamentale di tutte le relazioni — quella di Dio con il suo popolo» (ivi). «Se la Chiesa tende a fare del sesso un tabù, gran parte della società del nostro tempo ne fa un idolo» (61): ambedue gli atteggiamenti sono contrari alla prospettiva del Cantico, il quale «offre allo stesso tempo un'esaltazione e una messa in guardia rispetto alla più intensa e fragile di tutte le emozioni umane, l'amore romantico, e alla sua espressione fisica, la sessualità» (ivi).

Nei confronti della tendenza odierna ad esaltare un indiscriminato uso

della sessualità (il cosiddetto «libero amore»), T. Longman nota a ragione che il contesto dell'amore nel Cantico è il matrimonio monogamico. La donna del Cantico è chiamata *kallâ*, «sposa» (4,8.9.10.11.12; 5,1): «dire che ciò non ha alcuna connotazione matrimoniale è chiaramente falso» (150). L'amore del Cantico conosce il valore della castità e del dominio di sé. Contro O. Keel, per cui le immagini del «giardino chiuso» e della «fonte sigillata» (4,12) non hanno niente a che vedere con la castità della ragazza, T. Longman osserva, invece, che esse esaltano il valore della verginità, anche se questa è finalizzata al dono di sé: il giardino infatti viene poi aperto (155). Contro C.E. Walsh, che vede in 5,2-5 la descrizione dell'autoerotismo femminile, T. Longman nota giudiziosamente: «La sua lettura del poema è (eccessivamente) ingegnosa e forse ci parla più dei desideri del presente che delle intenzioni del passato» (161). D'altronde, «l'esclusività del rapporto, che viene espressa in questo verso (= 8,6, *nda*) e nel seguente, è contraria all'idea che oggetto del Cantico sia il 'libero amore'» (209).

Quanto l'equilibrio sia difficile da mantenere in questo campo si può cogliere da alcuni esempi, in cui l'interpretazione di T. Longman è discutibile. Da una parte, infatti, si nota qua e là un tono moralistico estraneo alla poetica del Cantico. L'autore interpreta il «ritornello del risveglio» (2,7; 3,5; 8,4) come un invito a non eccitare anzitempo nei giovani il desiderio di amare, cioè come una messa in guardia contro i pericoli dell'amore (61.115.131), un monito che egli riscontra anche nelle «volpi» di 2,15 (124-125). Ma da una parte il tono di 2,15 è scherzoso (sono «volpi piccine»), dall'altra è più verosimile che il «ritornello del risveglio» (2,7 par.) inviti a non «disturbare» l'amore, più che diffidare dall'«eccitarlo». In 7,10 TM, infatti, l'amore è presentato sotto la metafora del «sonno» («sulle labbra dei dormienti»). Anche l'osservazione su 1,11 («Il Cantico dei Cantici insegna che l'uso dei gioielli non è proibito ai credenti», 104), sa di moralistico.

Il richiamo a Gen 2-3 è ben messo in luce (63-67: «As the story of sexuality redeemed»), in continuità con i lavori di P. Tribble. Anche qui, insieme con l'opportuna accentuazione del carattere «paradisiaco» dell'amore nel Cantico, l'autore vede in esso anche dei richiami allo stato dell'uomo decaduto, che forse sono eccessivamente sottolineati (66). Ad ogni modo egli ha ragione di riscontrare la presentazione negativa della «città», e di affermare: «La relazione, interrotta con il peccato, può fare esperienza della guarigione offerta dalla redenzione, ma è un fenomeno di 'già-non ancora'. La consumazione della relazione non avrà luogo se non nell'escaton» (ivi, cfr. 220). L'uso dell'intertestualità si rivela via maestra per recuperare la dimensione teologica del Cantico: l'autore ne fa uso anche per altri brani, ma sarebbe auspicabile che venisse utilizzata più sistematicamente e a un livello più profondo.

In senso opposto, talora il tono erotico del poema viene forzato. Forse l'autore si lascia prendere la mano dalla mentalità attuale. Così, ad esempio, egli interpreta 5,2-5 come una descrizione a doppio senso, in cui i «piedi» (v. 3) alludono alle parti sessuali, la «mano» (v. 4) fa pensare al membro maschile, e il «buco» (v. 4), così come la «porta» (vv. 5.6), alla vagina (166-168). Per giungere a questa interpretazione, però, egli deve tradurre il *min* del v. 4 con «attraverso» («through the hole», 162), forzando il testo. Inoltre, e fondamentalmente, la porta rimane chiusa, per cui ci si chiede co-

me un atto sessuale possa aver luogo. Altrettanto forzata è la traduzione di *mē'ājw* (5,14) con «his member». Qui l'autore stesso ammette: «I am being more adventurous than usual in my translation and interpretation» (173).

Per ciò che riguarda l'ermeneutica del poema, l'approccio è largamente condivisibile. L'autore prende nettamente le distanze dall'interpretazione allegorica «Non esiste assolutamente nulla nel Cantico dei Cantici che induca a un significato diverso da quello sessuale», 36), anche se qua e là ne fa uso, senza distinguere debitamente i piani ermeneutici (cfr. l'accostamento di 3,1-5 a Gv 20,11-18, 128). Nell'ambito stesso dell'interpretazione «naturale» moderna, in cui T. Longman si colloca, egli respinge decisamente la tesi «drammatica» di F. Delitzsch, ripresa recentemente da I. Provan (42-43), quella «culturale-mitologica» di T.J. Meek e M. Pope (44-46), quella «psicologica» di F. Landy (46-47) e quella «politica» di L. Stadelmann (47). A ragione, egli riconosce qui altrettanti tentativi di interpretare il testo in base ad elementi ad esso estranei. Forse, però, in questi tentativi c'è una parte di verità che andrebbe valorizzata. L'autore stesso comprende il Cantico come un poema di carattere lirico, non narrativo, per cui la domanda sulla realtà storica delle situazioni rappresentate, spesso avanzata dagli esegeti, sarebbe mal posta (48.129.133.148.161.165).

Un limite dell'opera è lo scarso rilievo dato alla struttura letteraria. L'autore la tratta sbrigativamente in due paginette (54-56), giungendo alla conclusione che il libro non ha una struttura sua, ma è una collezione di poemi d'amore, indipendenti l'uno dall'altro. Dal fatto, correttamente osservato, che il Cantico non offre una continuità narrativa tra i diversi poemi, l'autore trae la conseguenza che esso non è opera unitaria, anche se osserva dei rimandi tra un poema e l'altro. Nel corso del commento, tali rimandi vengono anche messi in evidenza, ma non approfonditi. Anche all'interno dei singoli poemi, le osservazioni strutturali sono pressoché assenti: l'autore ignora completamente gli importanti studi di M.T. Elliott (*The Literary Unity of the Canticle* [EHS; Frankfurt a.M. 1989]) e H.-J. Heinevetter («*Komm nun, mein Liebster, dein Garten ruft dich!*», *Das Hohelied als programmatische Komposition* [BBB 69; Frankfurt a.M. 1988]), approdando a una posizione estremamente scettica rispetto alla possibilità di un'indagine strutturale. Dei 23 poemi in cui egli suddivide il Cantico, alcuni hanno le dimensioni di due-tre versi (ad esempio: 1,2-4.5-6.7-8.9-11.12-14.15-17; 4,8-9; 6,11-12), altri di otto (4,10-5,1), di dieci (2,8-17) e financo di diciotto versi (5,2-6,3), senza che vengano dati motivi letterari seri per questa divisione. A torto l'autore invoca il titolo (che egli traduce: «Il canto di canti», intendendo «un singolo poema composto di molti poemi», 88) a sostegno della sua teoria: l'articolo davanti a *šîrîm* non permette una simile traduzione.

Secondo T. Longman, niente impedisce di pensare che alcuni di questi poemi risalgano allo stesso Salomone (7, 88), o all'epoca in cui Tirza ancora era in piedi (179). L'autore è molto reticente quanto alla data del libro: respinge gli argomenti linguistici a favore di una composizione postesilica (17-19), ritiene anzi il problema della data irrilevante, trattandosi di un poema lirico (19). L'argomento non convince: anche un'opera lirica è legata, infatti, all'epoca storica in cui è stata composta. Inoltre i lavori sulla simbologia del Cantico (si veda ad esempio il libro di J.M. Munro,

citato dall'autore, *Spikenard and Saffron: A Study in the Poetic Language of the Song of Songs* [JSOTSS 203; Sheffield 1995], oppure S.F. Grober, «The hospitable lotus: A cluster of metaphors. An inquiry into the problem of textual unity in the Song of Songs», *Semitics* 9 [1984] 86-112), hanno messo in rilievo la profonda unità poetica (non narrativa!) del Cantico. E, d'altra parte, gli indizi linguistici e socio-culturali per un'attribuzione del Cantico all'epoca ellenistica raccolti da autori come H. Graetz, H.-J. Heinevetter, H.-P. Müller, G. Garbini e altri sono tutt'altro che irrilevanti. Meriterebbero almeno di essere discussi.

Superficiale è inoltre il discorso sulle metafore. L'autore conosce il commento di O. Keel, il cui contributo sul significato delle immagini del Cantico è fondamentale, ma non lo sfrutta abbastanza: disconosce completamente gli studi di H.-P. Müller, che delle metafore ha messo in evidenza lo sfondo mitico (cfr., ad esempio, *Vergleich und Metapher im Hohenlied* [OBO 56; Fribourg – Göttingen 1984]). Le immagini del Cantico hanno una dimensione teologica che sarebbe importante rilevare, appunto per una comprensione «canonica» del libro.

La traduzione è generalmente accurata e viene dato spazio, nei limiti di un commento non specialistico, alle questioni testuali. Vorrei però sottolineare alcune scelte, a mio avviso discutibili, oltre a quelle già segnalate. In 4,2 e 6,6, TM *mat'imôt* è Hifil di *t'm*, quindi va tradotto non *paired* («appaiate», 144), ma «gemellipare» (cfr. HALAT, 1544); così *šacculâ* non significa *missing* («mancante», 142), ma «senza figli» (cfr. HALAT, 1382-1383). L'accento è posto sulla fecondità, non sulla regolarità. In 7,10, per giungere alla traduzione dell'autore (*running straight to me, flowing over my lips and my teeth*), occorre non solo cambiare TM *j'shenîm* in *w'sinnāj* (cfr. LXX), ma anche TM *l'dôdî* in *lî*, per la quale operazione non esiste alcun supporto testuale. In 8,2, TM *r'lamm'dēnî* viene reso con (*my mother*), *who taught me*. Ma da una parte il relativo non esiste in ebraico, dall'altra il verbo è all'imperfetto, non al perfetto, e si allinea agli altri imperfetti del verso. In 8,6 TM stabilisce un'eguaglianza, non una superiorità tra amore e morte, per cui non è esatto rendere: *stronger as death is love* (207). 6,12 costituisce una vecchia *crux interpretum*, ma la resa: *my desire had placed me / in a chariot with a noble man* (184.187), non fa giustizia al testo. *mark'bôt* è infatti plurale, e supprime un '*im* in luogo di TM '*am* è pura speculazione. Lo sfondo della metafora sono i «carri di Israele», di cui parlano le storie di Elia ed Eliseo (cfr. G. Barbiero, «Die 'Wagen meines edlen Volkes' [Hld 6,12]: eine strukturelle Analyse», *Bib* 78 [1997] 174-189).

Discutibile è anche, in qualche caso, la «caratterizzazione» dei personaggi (15-17). Faccio un esempio. L'autore identifica il «coro» con le «figlie di Gerusalemme», non dando la parola al gruppo maschile. Ma questo gruppo viene menzionato in 8,14 (*hăbērîm*), e sarebbe logico vederlo presente almeno nel plurale di 1,11 (*na'āšeh*, da T. Longman attribuito al diletto, 104) e 7,1 (*nehēzeh*, attribuito dall'autore alle figlie di Gerusalemme, 189.191).

Il testo è tipograficamente molto ben curato. Segnaliamo qualche piccolo errore di stampa: *Hohleid* (1), *m'sādar* (124), '*ain* (149), '*im* (206). Inoltre in 8,10 non esiste il termine *ba'al* (218).

Queste osservazioni critiche non intaccano il valore del libro. Senza pretese di rivoluzionare gli studi sul Cantico, il volume di T. Longman compie un servizio prezioso, in quanto legge con onestà di studioso e con sensibilità di uomo d'oggi un testo biblico quasi ignorato dalla pastorale corrente. Gli auguriamo un meritato successo.

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Andrew MEIN, *Ezekiel and the Ethics of Exile* (Oxford Theological Monographs). Oxford, University Press, 2001. xii-298 p. 14 × 22. €45.00.

This volume is a revision of Mein's doctoral thesis at Oxford University. It is a serious look at the manner in which biblical ethics have been treated, and an exploration through one test case, the Book of Ezekiel. He recognizes that the study of moral perspectives in the Bible have been complicated by failures to clearly distinguish between how ethics are treated for a single passage, or for whole books and periods, or for the Scriptures as a whole. Beyond this there is the way Christians have interpreted the ethical traditions of the Hebrew Scriptures. Generally speaking, up to the time of the Exile, biblical ethics reflect the thinking of the upper classes only. He has chosen Ezekiel for study because the book has often been singled out for its concentration on moral issues, and because it reflects a specific time period that we know much about and that is generally regarded as marking a turning point in Israel's ethical thinking.

Mein undertakes to demonstrate that the ethical viewpoint of the Book specifically reflects the moral horizons of the Jerusalem elite. Because the prophet straddled both the final days of Israel's national existence and the first years of exile, he first reflects and critiques the outlook and practices of this group before the final destruction of the city in 586, and then adapts and reshapes their concerns in the exilic situation. For this Jerusalem elite the two most important concerns before exile were the obligations of international politics and the correct maintenance of the state cult. In exile they lost much of their status and their moral world was sharply curtailed in both political and religious participation. Ezekiel condemns them for having made the wrong decisions in international matters and in proper cultic fidelity, but also addresses their now reduced sphere of family, business and community by emphasizing rituals that look back to the temple as their source, and at the same time "domesticating" sin and virtue by refocusing from national institutions to the realm of family and individuals. By combining exegetical, historical and sociological observations, Mein hopes to show that Ezekiel's characteristic ethical positions reflect the distinctive social conditions of the Babylonian exile.

He develops his arguments point by point in seven chapters. In the first chapter he surveys the evidence for the definition of social classes in ancient

Israel and how different classes have different ethical outlooks, and then argues that the biblical text represents upper-class ethical viewpoints. In the second chapter, he reviews the scholarly debate over two major issues that will determine how he reads the Ezekiel text: (1) whether Ezekiel prophesied in Babylon as the book itself claims, or in Jerusalem, since almost all of his references seem to presuppose first-hand knowledge of the situation in the city under Zedekiah; and (2) whether Ezekiel was himself the author of most of the passages, or they were largely the work of later priestly disciples and editors. He concludes that modern studies have reached a consensus that Ezekiel was indeed an exile himself in Babylon but had many sources of information about Jerusalem before its final fall, and that Ezekiel himself is responsible for the great majority of passages in his name and that others were almost all the work of direct disciples while still in exile.

The author devotes chapters 3 and 4 to showing that during his ministry in exile while Jerusalem still stood (593-586), Ezekiel devoted his attention to addressing the two major foci of the Jerusalem elite: namely, foreign policy and the Temple cult. He shows that Ezekiel was far from an apolitical theologian, but was deeply engaged in the debates whether the vassal Judah should remain loyal to Babylon or revolt. Like Isaiah and Jeremiah he opposed making foreign alliances and condemned these efforts strongly, while also insisting on social justice and righteous behavior from the leaders at home (see chaps. 12, 16, 17, 19, 23). He addresses these oracles to the very leadership groups that were singled out for exile: the military, political and religious leaders. The prophet also attacked the failure by priests and officials to properly maintain the official cult. For Ezekiel, it meant denouncing efforts to re-establish practices from the time of Manasseh so decidedly condemned by the Deuteronomists, rejecting the tolerance, and even approval, of foreign cults in the temple precincts, and returning to the reforms made by Josiah. With the Deuteronomists, Priestly writers, and the Holiness Code, he linked political adultery with other nations to the practice of idolatry at home. He never concerns himself with popular religion of the masses, but only with officially sanctioned practices in the temple establishment itself.

Once Mein has established Ezekiel's concern with the ethical decisions of the Jerusalem leadership in Palestine, he turns to the prophet's words directed at these same leaders as exiles. His final three chapters show how the prophet continued to focus on the ethics of the elite, while modifying his message to their new situation of political powerlessness and the loss of the temple cult. First, chapter 5 outlines Ezekiel's emphasis on cultic purity and avoidance of profanation. He describes Israel's major sinfulness in terms of impurity and defilement, not just of the temple, but also of the land and the people themselves. His calls for renewed rituals for establishing holiness, purity and an end to defilement are important to reconstituting the temple standards for the people as a whole even when the temple is gone. He also places a new emphasis on Sabbath observance, which now serves as an identity marker (chapter 20) and on blood, which is primarily associated with temple ritual, now classed metaphorically as a defiling symbol for the immorality of the individual. Thus Ezekiel can be said to have "ritualized the ethical" as a way of coping with life in exile.

In chapter 6 the prophet re-applies the long Israelite tradition of

individual responsibility to the whole exilic community. Chapters 14, 18, 22, and 33 call on the people to turn from interior idolatry and insist that this generation assume responsibility for its behavior. He emphasizes the need for right relationships and repentance, qualities that would not stop the fall of the city for its guilt or save the elite classes from their fate, but would apply in exile by giving new hope for the future to the exilic community. Chapters 14 and 18 in particular deal with individual ethics and are addressed directly to the concerns of exiles. These chapters also catalog not national sins, but the domestic realms of sexuality, social concerns and religious duties.

Chapter 7 presents the case for how Ezekiel built hope among the exiles. Borrowing two elements from the sociology of millenarian movements, Mein shows that Ezekiel emphasizes both the this-worldly hope of restoration and a collective salvation awaiting the exiles who change their hearts through repentance. The exiles represent the rebelliousness of all Israel in suffering their fate and must be led to recognize their powerlessness and need to be passive before the saving power of God. Ezekiel insists God acts despite their guilt to save them for his name's sake and for his honor and to redeem his shame. His vision of the restored land of Israel will include a purified people and land, a restored covenant of security and shalom, and hearts empowered by the spirit of God. That is, it will be a "holy" land with the transformed elite humbly obedient to God. For Ezekiel as for his audience, this is the proper moral response to the exile.

The conclusion sums up the problems scholars have had with Ezekiel because it focuses on *both* the moral situation of the Jerusalem elite and the state of the exilic community. But because they are composed of the same moral class of people, the exiles continued to define themselves in terms of the Jerusalem situation. It is precisely the concerns of this group that we have seen Ezekiel address, not those of agrarian peasants or large masses of ordinary people. Ezekiel's condemnations of Jerusalem do not differ significantly from those from Isaiah or Jeremiah, two other prophets who spoke to the elite. His originality comes when he re-addresses these same people in exile. They have lost legal power and the cultic control of the temple, but Ezekiel creatively reapplies both legal language and ritual language to the vision of a new community to give authority to his demands for changed behavior. Ezekiel provides strong motives and specific strategies for survival as a community that maintains ties to its past traditions and looks to a new future. Ethics are not the only key to the Book of Ezekiel but they play a critical role in his program of a restored Israel returned to the land.

In all, Mein has developed his thesis very carefully and within clearly defined limits. He has examined the text of the Book of Ezekiel critically from the perspective that it is far more unified than most previous commentators would grant, and can be coherently interpreted as a work of the early exilic period. This allows him to identify the major topics of the oracles from a new vantage point—no longer are we separating them between original and post-exilic additions, but between Jerusalem and Babylon. And by reasonably postulating that Ezekiel worked solely from the exilic community, it frees him to show that the distinction between apparently inconsistent points of view is knowing whether the prophet is addressing a question still alive for those in Jerusalem before 586, or whether he is

addressing the changed situation of exile. The key to distinguishing which audience is intended is whether the moral demands are either national, i.e., the conduct of international politics and maintenance of the official temple cult of God; or whether they focus on rebuilding a cohesive community without political power nor temple cult by transforming the older legal and ritual traditions to a personal, domestic and more interior scale.

As a result, there are two major gains over earlier analyses of Ezekiel in this study. First, he counters the lack of clarity that has long reigned in sorting out apparently different audiences in the judgment oracle section of Ezekiel 1–24. Since he separates and distinguishes carefully among the individual texts for which audience they address, he contributes to greater understanding of the first half of the book. Second, because he has shown that 1–24 come almost entirely from the period 593 to 586 and combine both Jerusalem and Exilic concerns, he frees scholars to examine anew the second half of the book from 25–48 as an equally coherent post-586, exilic rebuilding plan for the future. Mein shows how Ezekiel laid the ethical shift from self-governed Jerusalem to Babylonian captivity in the argumentation of 1–24, and then turned to envisioning a more ideal and complete community for the future restoration in 33–37 certainly, and nearly as probably in all of 38–48. If, as Mein shows, Ezekiel was mainly concerned to refashion legal and cultic law forms to work even without the state legal and temple institutions, then nothing in 40–48 would be inconsistent with this effort of revisioning. Since Ezekiel proposes a program far beyond ethics as such, including posing a mythopoetic vision of a new temple, re-using divine warrior imagery, and re-empowering older prophetic traditions of divine intervention to help sustain and invigorate the hopes of the exiles, he was no doubt concerned with the upper classes in exile who were the hope of the future.

If Mein has a weakness, it is in his reliance on sociological models, whether from Weber or more recent commentators, that overstress the division between the religious values of the Jerusalem leadership and the masses or non-Jerusalemite population. There is, in fact, little evidence of any different popular religion from that portrayed in the prophets, and they never condemn one class as distinct from another on grounds of religious practice. Ethical distinctions between rich and poor, yes; but the suggestions that idolatrous practices were either state cultivated by the priesthood and nobility or favored by them in a way different from their attraction to the general population remain largely conjectural. Indeed, to go further than Mein and ask what the whole book of Ezekiel seeks to re-create, we could at least modify his hypothesis to say that Ezekiel would want to combine into a single religious vision the life of temple and village – and that leaders in the revisioned Israel get precious little power and control over the cult or international political ethics again. That said, we can certainly be grateful to the author for this fine contribution to both a more rigorous methodology for examining Ezekiel texts, and a distinct advance in understanding the unity and purpose of the judgment oracles in Ezekiel.

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Bernhard LANG, *The Hebrew God. Portrait of an Ancient Deity*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2001. X-246 p. 16 × 24. £25.00.

The format and layout of Lang's book shows that it was written to serve as a text-book. Succinct summaries at the beginning of every chapter, clear and not overly technical argumentation, and well-chosen illustrations from ancient Near Eastern iconography all contribute to make this handy volume a good choice for a textbook dealing with the Israelite conceptions of God.

The fresh aspect of this book is Lang's attempt to apply Dumézil's three social functions – Brahmins, warriors, producers – to the analysis of the aspects of the divine in the Hebrew Bible. Starting from a tripartite reading of Solomon's dream in 1 Kings 3, Lang sets out on his journey, using Dumézil's theory as his map.

The first function (rulership) is in the hands of teachers, jurists, and priests. Lang connects wisdom with this aspect and studies God as Lord of Wisdom. This first chapter discusses royal ascents to heaven. Indeed, heavenly ascensions are seen as a major aspect of the polytheistic worldview that preceded Israelite monotheism (25). Lang goes on to deal with YHWH as law-giver and scribe and lord of the covenant.

The second image studied is that of YHWH as Lord of War. Here Lang distinguishes between a "support" pattern (God providing help on the battlefield) and an "intervention pattern" (the deity doing all the fighting), the latter supposed to be a later, "postarchaic" tradition (45). The chapter opens with a fine discussion of the stele of vultures and then deals with God's battle with the monster with due attention to the Mari text published by Durand where Adad gives the new king, Zimri-Lim, the arms with which the god once fought Temtum, the Sea (54). Lang here argues that royal enthronement rituals included the handing over of a special weapon, understood as the warrior deity's weapon, to the new king and that this is reflected in as late a text as 2 Macc 15,16; Lang is here able to build upon a recent work by K.-P. Adam (*Der königliche Held. Die Entsprechung von kämpfendem Gott und kämpfendem König in Psalm 18* [WMANT 91; Neukirchen 2001] 86-93). Saul's slaying of his oxen before going out to rescue Jabesh is taken to reflect a pattern of traditional tales where the hero has to kill a wild beast before going to battle, reflected in the story of Samson (Judg 14,6) and known from the Goths and the Danes of later times (53).

The rest of the book is devoted to a study of third-function-aspects of the divine (providing nourishment and wealth). Here, Lang first supplies a fine chapter on God as the Lord of the Animals. It ought to have been pointed out in the main text that all future study of this aspect owes a debt of gratitude to O. Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. Eine Deutung von Ijob 38–41 vor dem Hintergrund der zeitgenössischen Bildkunst* (FRLANT 121; Göttingen 1978), 86-125, a work that is now relegated to the limbo of the endnotes. This aspect of God is attested in texts such as Job 38; Pss 50,10-11; 104; Gen 1,22; Isa 11. Lang also makes an excursion into extra-Biblical material and makes worthwhile references to Artemis as the Divine Gamekeeper of Greek mythology, to Atargatis of Hierapolis with her sacred zoo (*De Dea Syria* 41), and to the Arabian goddess Allat (88). Under the heading "human authority over animals", Lang discusses hunting and sacrifice. In an interesting section

he argues that the Biblical name of the Lord of the Animals was (El) Shaddai, which Lang takes to mean “God of the Field”, and goes on to make the suggestion that the Egyptian deity Shed is Shaddai, “Egyptianized and assimilated to Horus” (104-105). Lang might here have discussed the implications of the circumstance that Shed is a divine epithet in Egypt long before development into a specific god.

The third function is also seen as reflected in God as the “personal God”, and personal piety is thus submitted to discussion. Lang argues that Israel had two types of personal religion, one inspired from Mesopotamia, where the dependence on the personal deity was seen as existing from birth, another inspired from Egypt where this is due to “conversion” in adult life. Lang’s documented interest in Wisdom literature is here reflected in a long section on the instruction of Amenemope (118-125), which somehow falls outside the scope of the book.

A major aspect of the third function is, however, God as Lord of the Harvest. Here, Lang also finds two images: one that emphasizes the natural gifts of rain and the fertility of the ground, and another that highlights the gift of the land. The latter is shaped by historical experience.

An epilogue is devoted to some aspects of history or “sacred story”. Lang suggests that the promise of descendants and ownership of land made to the patriarchs corresponds to the Third Function, that the traditions of the exodus and conquest correspond to the Second Function, and the Sinai traditions with the promulgation of law to the First Function. He also appends a brief discussion of the New Testament temptation narrative, where he finds the three aspects of universal rulership, courage of warrior, and production of bread.

I read Lang’s book with interest and admiration. It is, indeed, a fresh contribution to the study of the *Gottesbild* of the Hebrew Bible. Lang has managed to step out of the old, well-trodden paths and say something new. One must appreciate Lang’s combination of due attention to ancient Near Eastern material and application of a specific anthropological theory. The book is well written and will be of good service to students in our courses on the Hebrew Bible.

Lang’s book is of course not the first one to deal with the OT notions of God. Lang makes no efforts to relate his own enterprise to previous attempts. The preface contains a brief summary appraisal of the work of previous scholars: “Their contributions are often innovative and impressive, but generally stay on the level of unstructured, unclassified details. Scholars have failed to produce a comprehensive and convincing account of the Hebrew God, one that sums up and completes previous research. The present book is meant to fill this gap”. Lang, however, never tells us the names of these previous scholars. Moreover, not even his bibliography lists works such as W.H. Schmidt, *Alttestamentlicher Glaube in seiner Geschichte. Zur Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Gottesverständnisses* (Neukirchener Studienbücher 6; Neukirchen 1982); M.S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (San Francisco 1990); O. Kaiser, *Der Gott des Alten Testaments. Wesen und Wirken. Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 1-2 (Uni-Taschenbücher 1747.2024; Göttingen 1993-1998), or the reviewer’s *In Search of God: The Meaning and Message of the Everlasting Names* (Philadelphia 1988). Consequently, the book contains no proper conversation with previous scholarship. Moreover, the gap that the book purports to fill may not be as overwhelming as Lang suggests.

This raises the question if there are major aspects of the Israelite deity that fail to receive Lang's attention. I would like to point to one. The temple cult of the Judahite monarchy was marked by its Zion-Sabaoth theology. YHWH as the invisible king, enthroned on the cherubim throne stands out as the optical and conceptual focus of the worship of the Solmonic temple of pre-exilic times. The experience of the national catastrophe resulted in a cognitive dissonance (the temple in ruins in spite of the Zion promise) that led to two major hermeneutic solutions, namely the Deuteronomistic Shem theology and the Priestly Kabod theology. See T. Mettinger, *In Search of God* (123-157) and *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies* (CB.OTS 18; Lund 1982).

One point that may provoke discussion is the the nature of Dumézil's tripartite pattern as applied to Israelite religion. Dumézil proceeds on the assumption that society provides the basic model for the structure of the symbolic universe of a religion. This approach has since been effectively bolstered by the sociology of knowledge (P. Berger and Th. Luckmann). The society of ancient India had three castes. This, according to Dumézil, has marked the religions of the Indo-European peoples. In the Roman pantheon, the gods Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus thus took a special place, as did Oden, Thor, and Frei in Nordic religion. Dumézil's categorization has appeared to have considerable explanatory power, as is evident from a whole series of publications by Dumézil from 1939 onwards.

As for Israel, it is clear that the society was not organized in three castes as in India. Moreover, it never becomes quite clear in Lang's treatment whether we are to regard the tripartite pattern as an "etic" grid system applied from outside, by the modern scholar, to the material, a way of creating some academic order, *or* as categories intrinsic to Israelite culture. Lang oscillates. His book shows in any case that the tripartite pattern may be used as a meaningful principle of organizing the discussion of these matters. Like Dumézil himself, Lang lays more stress on structuralist classification than on historical explanation. Lang's attempt to find his three main aspects of it (rulership, victory, and wealth) not only in 1 Kings 3 but also in Daniel 7 and Isaiah 9 is not completely convincing to the reviewer.

As for the three parts of the book I find Lang's treatment of the second and third aspects most satisfying. He seems to me to overstress the role of heavenly journeys in his treatment of the first aspect. The discussion of YHWH as Lord of War is informative. The discussion of the third aspect contains one chapter that alone makes the book a bargain: YHWH as Lord of the Animals. The chapter on the Lord of the Harvest is also good reading. The organization of this third part of the book, however, would probably have been more lucid to the student if the order had been (a) Lord of the Harvest (rain and fertility), (b) Lord of the Animals, and (c) Lord of the Individual.

Lang's bok is one that must make Dumézil rejoice in his heaven. It is one that will help future students to see new aspects of the Hebrew God, but it is hardly one that should be studied in splendid isolation.

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Novum Testamentum

Simon LÉGASSE, *L' épître de Paul aux Romains* (Lectio Divina, Commentaires 10). Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 2002. 992 p. 13,5 × 21,5. €76

Dies ist meines Wissens seit langen Jahren der erste wissenschaftliche Kommentar eines französischen katholischen Exegeten zum Röm, der sich mit dem von M.-J. Lagrange (*Saint Paul: Épître aux Romains* [Études Bibliques; Paris 1931]) messen kann. Kleiner im Format hat er doch mehr als den doppelten Umfang. Auf die abschnittsweise Übersetzung und Auslegung folgen jeweils eine Bibliographie und Fußnoten, die hauptsächlich auf die Textüberlieferung und sprachliche Fragen eingehen. Dabei ist das Griechische in Umschrift gegeben. Innerhalb der Auslegung werden Spezialprobleme noch einmal im Kleindruck behandelt.

Die Einführung bietet gediegene Information über die jüdische und die christliche Gemeinde in Rom. Originell und gegen den aktuellen Trend, der den Röm kirchenpolitisch oder missionsstrategisch motiviert, ist die Zweckbestimmung des Schreibens. Es sei in erster Linie eine Apologie des Paulus "pro doctrina sua". D.h. Paulus wehrt sich weniger gegen Verleumdungen (dazu 220 mit Anm. 184: weder 3,8 noch 6,1.15 seien die Slogans deutlich gegen Paulus gerichtet; vgl. allerdings 391), sondern verteidigt Gott vor dem Forum seines eigenen Denkens gegen zwei Anklagepunkte: 1. Durch den Glauben an Christus verliert das Gesetz seinen Wert als Heilsweg; 2. Wegen des Scheiterns der christlichen Predigt in Israel scheint Gott seinen Verheißungen untreu geworden zu sein. Jedesmal liefert die Schrift Paulus die Argumente (40-42). Warum aber hat der Apostel diesen Brief, der von 1,16–11,36 "unberührt von jeglicher römischer Wirklichkeit" ist, ausgerechnet nach Rom geschickt? L. beantwortet diese Frage nicht wie der Rezensent mit der Rolle, die der Gemeinde in der anvisierten Spanienmission zukommen könnte, sondern mit postalischen Erwägungen: Rom war das Zentrum des Reiches, von wo die Kuriere in alle Provinzen ausgingen (40). Hat also Paulus mit dem Röm doch eine Art Enzyklika geschrieben (vgl. T.W. Manson, "St. Paul's Letter to the Romans – and others", *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, Manchester 1962, 225-241)? Hätte sie die kaiserliche Post befördert? Diese Folgerungen sind, scheint mir, doch nicht so recht bedacht. Was die Einheitlichkeit des Briefes angeht, so wehrt sich L. im Laufe der Kommentierung gegen verschiedene Interpolationsthesen; nur in 16,3-16 (20) sieht er eher das Fragment eines Paulusbriefs nach Ephesus, in 16,17-20a eine nachpaulinische, aber frühe Zutat aus konkretem, uns freilich nicht mehr erschließbarem Anlass. Auch die Schlussdoxologie hält er mit den meisten Auslegern nicht für authentisch.

Angesichts heutiger bis in die Halbverse vorangetriebener Gliederungsversuche und raffinierter rhetorischer Analysen fällt auch auf, dass L. sich zunächst (42-44; nach 43 reicht aber der erste Teil bis 4,25, nach 44 nur bis 3,20) mit der großen Linienführung begnügt und mit Digressionen rechnet. Zu Beginn der einzelnen Abschnitte wird dann die weitere

Unterteilung mit stilistischen und inhaltlichen Kriterien begründet. Einen Hinweis auf die *partes orationis* habe ich nur 126 Anm. 1 – und hier mit Vorbehalten – gefunden (vgl. noch 382 Anm. 42). 455 Anm. 1 bezweifelt L. gar, dass ein systematischer Rekurs auf die klassische Rhetorik hilfreich ist, um die Argumentation des Paulus zu verstehen (ähnliche Skepsis 559 Anm. 3, 572 Anm. 7). Das Wort “rhetorisch” wird meist im Sinn von “übertrieben, auf Wirkung aus” gebraucht. Hier einige Auffälligkeiten der Strukturierung: Gegen das übliche Verständnis (unter seinen Vertretern nennt L. 111 Anm. 1 auch mich, allerdings mit den Seitenzahlen von Fitzmyer!) will L. in 1,18-32 auch Israel einbegriffen und in 2,1-6 auch die Heiden angeredet wissen. Erst 2,17-3,8 fasst er unter der Überschrift “Application au Juif” zusammen. In Kap. 9-11 unterscheidet er mit J. Lambrecht einen apologetischen “ersten Teil” (bis 11,10) und einen paränetischen Teil (11,11-32) – zwei vom Umfang her doch sehr ungleiche Stücke –, stellt aber selber fest, dass sich im letzteren Teil die Rehabilitation Gottes fortsetzt (697-698; 744). Bei der weiteren Untergliederung befremdet, dass die illustrierenden Zitate 9,25-29 von vv. 23-24 getrennt werden.

L. macht auch Ernst damit, dass ein Brief dieser Länge nicht an einem Tag, sondern vielleicht über Wochen hin diktiert wurde. So erklärt sich manche Unebenheit aus nachträglichen Retuschen oder Hinzufügungen (42-43). Z.B. der oft als Glosse angesehene v. 7,25b. L. vermutet, Paulus habe zunächst den Einwurf 6,15 mit 6,16-7,6 beantwortet und 8,1 und die Folge angeschlossen; dann habe er als Entgegnung auf eine zweite Objection 7,7-25a eingefügt. V. 25b sei dann als – nicht ganz geschickter – Übergang gebildet worden. Auch sachlich muss der Röm nicht aus einem Guss sein. Z.B. sei der Vorrang des Juden 1,16b nicht schon im Licht von Röm 11 zu lesen (96; anders M. Theobald, *Der Römerbrief* [EdF 294; Darmstadt 2000] 262). 2,14 lässt sich nicht leicht mit dem Privileg der Gesetzgebung für Israel (9,4) harmonisieren. “Autres contextes, autres nécessités et arguments différents” (175). Dieses Prinzip gilt auch etwa für die von Paulus behauptete allgemeine Sündigkeit, aus der ihn Phil 3,6 auszunehmen scheint (Exkurs 248-249; 438). Deshalb ist eine Teilhabe des Paulus an der Röm 7,7-25 geschilderten Erfahrung trotz des formellen und “rhetorischen” Aspekts des “Ich” nicht ausgeschlossen (447, anders 461). “... autre contexte, autres arguments” heißt es auch zu 11,17-18, wo die Einfügung der Heidenchristen ins Gottesvolk nicht mit der sonstigen paulinischen Theologie konform geht (712-713). Müsste dieser Grundsatz nicht auch bei 11,15 Anwendung finden? Dort fasst L. aber, um einen Widerspruch zu 11,1 zu vermeiden, ἀποβολή bzw. πρόσληψις mit Fitzmyer, doch recht gezwungen, als “refus” bzw. “accueil” “de l’Évangile par les Juifs” auf. “Wegwerfen” und “Wiederannahme” durch Gott liegen jedoch ebenso nahe wie das Ausbrechen und Wiedereinfropfen in vv. 17-24. Zu Recht hebt L. in nachträglichen Bemerkungen (753-756) die bleibenden Spannungen in den Israelkapiteln hervor.

Der Schwerpunkt der Erklärung liegt beim Vokabular, der Syntax und der Nachzeichnung des Gedankenganges. Dagegen treten Traditionsgeschichte und Motivkritik zurück. Z.B. vermisst man zu Kap. 4 Ausführungen über das jüdische Abrahambild. Zu “Gerechtigkeit Gottes” bietet S. 96 einen halbseitigen Exkurs über die vom AT zu Paulus führende Entwicklung. In den Paulusbriefen findet L. nur in 2 Kor 5,21 einen *Genitivus auctoris* (“justice

objective"); im Röm meine die Genitivverbindung durchweg ein Attribut des richtenden Gottes (97.256). Dem daneben vorkommenden absoluten Gebrauch, der Assoziation mit *δικαίος* und *δικαιοῦν* soll das Zauberwort "dynamisch" Rechnung tragen. Es handle sich um ein "attribut dynamique, par lequel Dieu justifie l'homme coupable" (97). Diese Auffassung passt natürlich ausgezeichnet zu einer Deutung, die den Röm weithin als Theodizee nimmt. So etwas ist in 9,14-21 unbestreitbar. Doch liegt Paulus sonst an dem umgekehrten Vorgang, nämlich dass Gott den Menschen rechtfertigt. So geht es m.E. etwa in 1,18-32 nicht darum, "die Gerechtigkeit Gottes (v. 17) zu verteidigen", indem die Schuld der Menschen aufgewiesen wird (109). Das verträge sich eher mit einer *iustitia retributiva*. Es soll vielmehr die Notwendigkeit der Gerechtigkeit von Gott dargetan werden, wo die Menschen unter der Sünde sind (also derselbe Gegensatz wie 2 Kor 5,21). Einen anderen traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund hat wieder 3,3-8: den Rechtsstreit, in dem Gott sich aber selbst Recht verschafft (anders 217 "un procès dans lequel Dieu doit être défendu"). Hier erkennt L. ja auch ausnahmsweise die biblische Implikation des "châtiment divin" (97). Bei 3,24-26, wo L.s dynamische Konzeption am ehesten Anhalt findet, wird Tradition und Redaktion nicht deutlich von einander abgehoben. Zwar nimmt der Kommentator hier "un héritage plus ou moins important" an, der Text sei aber im Rahmen des paulinischen Denkens auszulegen (263). Hier lehnt L. übrigens einen typologischen Bezug zur atl. *kapporet* ab. Gott habe Christus als Sühnemittel vor sich hingestellt (ein Vorschlag, der Diskussion verdient). Auch sonst ist L. eher zurückhaltend mit atl. Modellen (vgl. 451-452 zur Paradiesesgeschichte in Röm 7,11; 504 gegen Exodustypologie in 8; 549-550 zum Opfer Abrahams in 8,32; 576 gegen Echo von Ex 32,31-32 in 9,3). So sehr es zu begrüßen ist, dass L. das theologische Profil des Apostels herausmeißelt; es hätte vielleicht doch hie und da an Schärfe gewonnen, wenn er sein Verhältnis zur atl.-jüdischen, aber auch zur urchristlichen Tradition expliziter dargestellt hätte. Freilich muss man hier oft mit Hypothesen arbeiten.

L. weigert sich auch, mit psychologischen Erwägungen gedankliche Lücken bei Paulus aufzufüllen. Z.B. würde man gern erfahren, warum das Gesetz die Sünde vermehrt (5,20). Für L. ist das "Erkennen" der Sünde durch das Gesetz ein reiner Wissensprozess (447-448 zu 7,7). Dass das Verbot das Verbotene um so begehrenswerter erscheinen lässt und geradezu das Begehren erregt, wird 449 nicht in seinem psychologischen Mechanismus ausgeführt. Im übrigen stimmt der Rezensent mit fast allem, was L. zum Gesetz sagt (Vieldeutigkeit des Begriffs in 3,27; 7,21-25; 8,2; Christus als Ende des Gesetzes 10,4), überein. Ein anderes Beispiel: das "Eifersüchtigmachen" 10,19; 11,1.13, unzweifelhaft eine psychologische Kategorie. L. möchte hier jeden Rekurs auf Erfahrung ausschalten (698), die Idee spiele auch in 11,25-32 keine Rolle mehr (754). Das scheint mir fraglich, wenn gerade das Hereinkommen der "Fülle der Heiden" die Rettung ganz Israels auslöst. Auch schreibt sich m.E. Paulus daran, mithin am Eifersüchtigmachen Israels, einen größeren persönlichen Anteil zu, als L. ihm zugestehen will (766). Nicht nur die Kollekte, sondern auch die Spanienmission ist hier unbedingt zu nennen, um die Zukunftsvision des Apostels zu konkretisieren. Bei L. bleibt das "Geheimnis" in seinem Wie mysteriös. 11,33-36 bezeuge das Scheitern jeglicher Spekulation (747-748;

vgl. dagegen meinen Kommentar 200-201 zum traditionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang zwischen der Enthüllung eines Geheimnisses und dem Lob der unergründlichen Wege Gottes). Zwar soll auch meiner Meinung nach das Zitat 11,26-27 nicht dieses Wie lüften. L. liest hier eine Initiative Gottes (nicht Christi! durchaus bedenkenswert; die Deutung von U. Luz u.a. auf den schon gekommenen Christus wird gar nicht erwähnt) heraus, die aber was Zeit und nähere Umstände angeht, unbestimmt und "tout spirituel" bleibt (730-731). Andererseits ist die Naherwartung (ebd. mit 13,11-12) nicht zu verkennen (obwohl 11,15 nicht auf die Auferstehung der Toten geht: 707-708). Und Paulus mag sich – wenn auch illusorisch – durchaus von seiner Ausbreitung der Botschaft bis in den äußersten Westen (925) eine Wirkung auf die schon missionierten (10,14-21), aber ungläubig gebliebenen Juden versprochen haben. Eines ist jedenfalls bei dieser Auffassung mit L. gegen F. Mußner festzuhalten: Paulus sieht für Israel keinen "Sonderweg" zum Heil vor, der um den Glauben an Jesus Christus herumkäme (728.753.756; vgl. schon 305 zu 4,12; 314 zu 4,16).

So bleibt der Kommentar nüchtern, dem Text verhaftet. Er zeigt zwar theologisches Problembewusstsein, verzichtet aber auf jede Art von Aktualisierung. Nur einige Exkurse geben hermeneutische Winke zu anstößigen oder schwer verständlichen Aussagen des Apostels (137-138 "Dieu à l'origine des perversions humaines"; 753-756 zu Röm 9-11; 818-822 zu 13,1-7). Der größte Nutzen dieser Auslegung besteht m.E. in der Transparenz ihrer philologischen Entscheidungen. Positiv ist auch, dass die Stimmen der Väter und der Reformatoren zu Wort kommen. Dagegen ist die Auseinandersetzung mit der Sekundärliteratur in den Anmerkungen auf das Nötige beschränkt. Oft kann L. auch auf seine eigenen Kommentare in dieser Reihe verweisen. Obwohl die Bibliographien reichhaltig sind, fehlen doch einige neuere Monographien (H.-J. Eckstein, D.-A. Koch, D. Sänger ...). Aber Vollständigkeit ist hier unmöglich zu fordern. Freuen wir uns also über einen eigenständigen und lehrreichen Kommentar, der auf der Höhe der Forschung ist, und drücken wir ein Auge zu wegen der doch relativ häufigen Fehler, vor allem in den Stellenangaben, bei der Umschrift des Griechischen und – anscheinend unvermeidlich – in der Wiedergabe der deutschsprachigen Titel.

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Mark D. NANOS, *The Irony of Galatians*. Paul's Letter in First-Century Context. Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2001. 376 p. 14 × 21

In attempting to interpret a polemical text like Galatians, it is necessary to understand the origin and nature of the dispute of which it is a part. Our difficulty in doing this is that we are only able to access the dispute through the text, and hence from Paul's perspective. We have to use his letter as a mirror in which we see reflected the people and arguments whose influence he intended to counter. This exercise is unavoidable, but also hazardous. Precisely because in reading Galatians we hear only one side of the debate,

we are in danger of misunderstanding what is said or implied about the identity and arguments of Paul's targets.

In this stimulating and provocative study, Jewish scholar Mark Nanos argues that such misunderstanding has persistently dogged the interpretation of Galatians. The attempts of Pauline scholars to mirror-read the letter have been fatally flawed. It is not true, as the majority suppose, that Paul was attempting to counter the influence of Jewish Christian evangelists from outside Galatia who advocated to Gentile believers a gospel of Christ that included full observance of the Law. Rather, those influencing the Gentile believers were non-Christ-believing representatives of local Galatian synagogues. They were encouraging the Gentile believers to become proselytes, the males receiving circumcision as a key rite of passage. This was the traditional path to the recognition by Jewish communities of Gentiles as included among the righteous of God. For the Galatian believers, this gracious offer was attractive. It would provide them with access to an established community that was recognised by the authorities as legitimate and that had significant social and material resources. They would be relieved of an uncomfortably marginal social identity that left them neither conventionally Gentile nor fully Jewish in the eyes of others. Yet Paul is enraged. This is not because he has any critique of Jewish identity or practice as such. He is fully Torah observant and considers that such is necessary for all Jews, including believers in Christ. His anger stems rather from the conviction that the new age has dawned in Christ and that one of its primary features is the inclusion of Gentiles who remain Gentiles among the righteous of God. They come into a full relationship with God through faith in Christ rather than as proselytes via circumcision. If this is not the case then Christ's cross is rendered pointless, its eschatological purpose void.

In support of this reading of the situation in Galatia, Nanos draws a helpful distinction between our use of 'situational discourse' and 'narrative discourse' in order to mirror-read Galatians. By the former he means text that relates directly to the situation in Galatia itself, by the latter material such as the autobiographical section (1,13–2,21) that does not. We should not, for example, assume that we are able to deduce features of the Galatian situation from the Antioch incident. Paul must consider events in distant Antioch relevant to the Galatian situation in some way, but this does not mean that we can use them to identify those influencing the Gentile believers. Nanos here makes a valid methodological point. However, the traditional view of the influencers as Jewish Christian evangelists is based primarily on texts that qualify as 'situational discourse', especially 1,6–9 and 6,12–13. It is once this key identification is made that features of Paul's 'narrative discourse' are used to supply other compatible details. If Nanos is to succeed in overturning previous readings he must show that these vital situational texts have been misinterpreted. The core of his argument is therefore the exegesis of these texts.

Nanos suggests that previous interpreters have failed to appreciate fully the ironical nature of Paul's polemic in 1,6–9. Paul is not surprised at the Galatians fickleness, but in accordance with an established rhetorical form of ironic rebuke uses the verb θαυμάζω to express disappointment (1,6). His reference to a different gospel does not mean that the influencers proclaim an

alternative message about Christ, but simply that the Gentile believers imagine being circumcised and becoming proselytes to be compatible with their faith in Christ. Paul wants to alarm them by showing that it would in fact be a defection from the gospel. In doing so, he does not always use the term εὐαγγέλιον as short hand for 'gospel of Jesus Christ'. Paul is playing ironically on the everyday use of the word in relation to various other types of good news. The contrast is not between two different messages about Christ, but two different messages of good. The difficulty with Nanos's argument here is that while Paul may indeed employ an ironic rebuke, of itself this does not determine the nature of its target. The irony could be that what is ostensibly a message of good news about Jesus Christ from Jewish Christian sources is in fact not good news at all. Paul's warning that the Galatians should not believe alternative gospels even if the source is Paul himself or an angel from heaven suggests that this is indeed the case (1,8-9). Paul is scarcely telling the Gentile believers not to heed him should he preach a message of good that makes no reference to Christ. In such a circumstance they would have little difficulty in spotting his inconsistency. Paul's insistence that they hold fast to the gospel in precisely the form that they received it suggests concern about plausible impersonations of the gospel from credible sources, not messages of good that make no reference to Christ.

Nanos's exegesis of 6,12-13 is also unconvincing, with a very strained reading of Paul's accusation in v. 12 that those seeking to persuade the Galatians to be circumcised are motivated by a desire to avoid persecution for the cross of Christ. Nanos argues that the Gentile Galatian believers are compromising relationships between local Jewish communities and wider Gentile society. The believers claim the prerogatives of Jewish status, opting out of the worship of other deities, thus aggravating local civic authorities who consider that such privileges only properly belong to those who conform to traditional definitions of Jewish identity. This results in pressure on Jewish leaders to put their house in order, who in turn seek to persuade the Gentile believers to become proselytes lest the entire Jewish community be persecuted for the cross of Christ. Yet even if one regards this scenario as historically plausible, it makes no sense of the rhetorical function of Paul's statement. It would be entirely natural for Jews who did not believe in Christ not to wish to be persecuted on account of him and his cross. Paul could hardly blame them for it or use it to discredit them with the Gentile believers, yet this is exactly what he does. The same problem applies to the suggestion that in the next verse Paul does not criticise those influencing the Gentile believers for failing to keep Torah as they themselves understood it. Instead, he criticises them for failing to do so on the basis of his interpretation of it, in which love of neighbour now demands full acceptance of Gentiles as Gentiles. Again, it is difficult to see how Paul could use this to discredit them with the Gentile believers. The traditional interpretation that Paul is here criticising Jewish Christian advocates of circumcision simply makes better sense of the available data.

As a whole, therefore, Nanos's argument fails. It nevertheless has several features of some value. Even if those attempting to influence the Gentile believers are indeed Jewish Christians, there is still a need to explain the Galatians' apparent openness to their arguments. Despite the generally hostile

attitude towards circumcision within Graeco-Roman culture, Paul's many solemn warnings scarcely suggest that it was inconceivable that the Gentile believers might accept it. He knows that he must work hard if he is to win the argument. The suggestion that becoming proselytes offers the Gentile believers a solution to the difficulties inherent in their marginal social identity is a plausible explanation for the appeal that circumcision seems to have held for them. Nanos's discussion of rhetorical conventions is also helpful, as is his discussion of the generally pejorative manner in which those attempting to influence the Gentile believers have been characterised in the history of scholarship. The tendency to stereotype Judaism in general, or early Jewish Christians in particular, is well known. Even for interpreters who ultimately share Paul's perspective, it is unhelpful prematurely to internalise his polemic. If we are not willing to consider why those against whom Paul argues consider themselves to be acting correctly, then our mirror-reading and ultimately our interpretation of Paul's texts themselves may be inaccurate.

Nanos himself makes a contribution to the avoidance of stereotyping by reminding us that first century Jews who did not believe in Christ were not necessarily hostile to his followers. Not all would have applauded Paul's pre-conversion persecuting activities. Although the available evidence suggests, contrary to Nanos, that the particular situation in Galatia involved Jewish Christians, it is plausible that there existed Jewish communities prepared to welcome as proselytes those Gentiles who believed in Christ. The problem is that the significance of this is explored only fitfully, and somewhat confusingly. On the one hand, there are the terms in which Nanos couches his argument that those influencing the Gentile believers can not have been Jewish Christians. Such people could not hope to persuade the Gentile Galatian believers to become proselytes as they would "transparently lack sufficient loyalty to the norms of the Christ-believing coalition so as to avoid suffering for what they believe in, the crucified Jesus" (222). It seems that a Jewish Christianity defining its norms in terms of both faith in Christ and obedience to Torah is impossible, and that Paul's argument in Galatians reflects historical reality as well as trying to shape it. On the other hand, Nanos suggests that his reconstruction of the situation in Galatia should help interpreters to avoid "the seemingly ineluctable conclusion that Paul denigrated Jewish identity and behaviour in view of the meaning of Christ" (282). Paul is trying to modify expectations within Jewish communities in view of the dawning of the new age, not to create a new religious institution over and against them. His approach is reforming rather than sectarian.

At one level, these two aspects of Nanos's argument seem contradictory. His apparent denial of even the historical possibility of any middle ground on which Jewish Christianity could stand seems to imply a gulf between Pauline Christianity and Judaism. Yet, at another level, the very assertion of this gap makes tolerance possible. As he is not arguing against Jewish Christians, Paul is not directly criticising the role played by Torah observance in their communal identity. His critique of Torah observance within Judaism is limited to its application to Gentiles. Similarly, Nanos's hypothetical synagogue leaders are not attacking faith in Christ as such, but simply rejecting it as a norm by which the righteous ones of God are to be defined. What would be the consequences of the adoption of such attitudes in the contemporary world?

Undoubtedly a more tolerant relationship between Christian and Jewish communities would follow, with central components of the identity of each more positively perceived by the other than has traditionally been the case. This sounds desirable, and in many respects is desirable, but there remain deep divides that tolerance alone is unable to overcome.

For Torah observance is acceptable to Paul, and perhaps even in some cases obligatory, so long as it does not challenge faith in Christ as the core component of communal identity. The righteous of God are defined as such by faith in Christ not Torah observance. Similarly, faith in Christ is acceptable to Nanos's hypothetical synagogue representatives so long as it does not challenge Torah observance as the core component of communal identity. The righteous of God are defined as such by Torah observance not faith in Christ. The unresolved and irresolvable issue, pregnant with significance for Jewish/Christian relations, is which has priority, Torah observance or faith in Christ? For Paul it must be faith in Christ, or Christ died for nothing (2,21). For those convinced that it embodies God's will for his people, Torah observance must define that people or God's will is simply ignored. From either perspective, tolerance by the other is not enough since what is being merely tolerated, and hence implicitly downgraded in significance, is what each believes God has declared of central importance. It is precisely this dilemma that another Jewish interpreter of Galatians, Daniel Boyarin, explores in his book *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Contraversions 1; Berkeley, CA 1994). One wishes that Nanos had engaged more with Boyarin's work, which receives a single cursory footnote. Although Nanos is primarily concerned with historical reconstruction of the Galatian situation whereas Boyarin is not, such engagement might have helped Nanos to draw out more fully and clearly the significance of his historical argument. As it is, one is left with the impression of energetic scholarship, motivated by deep goodwill, that somehow fails to grapple with the profoundly different nature of the visions of God's dealings with humanity that collided in Galatia.

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Dieter KREMENDAHL, *Die Botschaft der Form. Zum Verhältnis von antiker Epistolographie und Rhetorik im Galaterbrief* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 46). Freiburg Schweiz, Universitätsverlag – Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000. x-324 p. 16 × 25,5. € 72

Die Lektüre der 1999/2000 in Marburg angenommenen Dissertation ist eine spannende Angelegenheit, und dazu trägt bei, dass der Autor, Kremendahl (=K.), das Handwerkszeug der Altphilologen zu nutzen weiß. Die Thematik ergibt sich forschungsgeschichtlich vor allem aufgrund des wichtigen

Galaterbriefkommentars von H.D. Betz (*Galatians*, Philadelphia 1979; deutsch: *Der Galaterbrief*, München 1988); denn mit der darin vertretenen These, es handle sich bei dem Dokument um einen apologetischen Brief, stellte sich, wie seinerzeit H. Hübner ("Der Galaterbrief und das Verhältnis von antiker Rhetorik und Epistolographie", *TLZ* 109 [1984] 241-250) betonte, allgemein die Frage nach dem "Verhältnis von antiker Rhetorik und Epistolographie" und speziell das Problem, ob die paränetisch wirkenden Aussagen von Gal 5-6 und auch die abschließenden Sätze (Betz, *Galaterbrief*, 56-68: 5,1-6,10 *exhortatio*; 6,11-18 Briefpostskript/*peroratio*) mit der Gattung der Gerichtsrede vereinbar sind (vgl. Betz *Galaterbrief*, 434-435). K. bezieht sich in der Einleitung denn auch auf Hübners Forderung ("Galaterbrief", 249), jenes "Verhältnis... im Blick auf die Paulinen" "noch weiter zu untersuchen" (15), und benennt als "Prüfstein" des eigenen Vorhabens, ob und wie "die paränetische Passage des Galaterbriefes", die "bisher jede theoriekonforme rhetorische Gliederung scheitern" machte (4), eingeordnet werden könne – eine Passage, die, wie der knappe forschungsgeschichtliche Überblick (120-126) zeigt, zu unterschiedlichen Kategorisierungen des Briefes geführt hat: eingeschätzt als Gerichtsrede, als Beratungsrede (z.B. G.A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism*, Chapel Hill 1984 [der, wie man in der Dissertation leider nicht erfährt, noch 1980 anders urteilte]), als Preisrede (z.B. A. Pitta, *Disposizione e messaggio della Lettera ai Galati*, Roma 1992), inzwischen (121) "zumeist" als "Mischgattung" (etwa W. Harnisch, "Einübung des neuen Seins. Paulinische Paränese am Beispiel des Galaterbriefs", *ZTK* 84 [1987] 279-296). K. "versucht nun zu zeigen, dass eine genaue epistolographische Analyse in der Lage ist, diese Aporie der rhetorischen Galaterexegese (*sic*) ... vielleicht sogar zu lösen" (4). Hauptthesen sind, dass – epistolographisch – zwischen "einem ursprünglich konzipierten Brief in den Grenzen von 1,1-5,6 und einem *post scriptum* ab 5,7", einem nach "einer Diktierpause" (245, unter Verweis auf E. Stange, "Diktierpausen in den Paulusbriefen", *ZNW* 18 [1917] 109-117) von Paulus hinzugefügten Anhang (5,7-6,17), zu unterscheiden sei (268) und dass – rhetorisch – für den (somit) von Paränese weithin freien Ausgangsbrief "die apologetische Gattungszuordnung... bekräftigt" werden könne (270), wenn man die Betz'sche "Engführung der Gattung 'Apologie'" hinter sich lasse (149; vgl. Betz, *Galaterbrief*, 69) und den Terminus in weitem Sinne definiere (nämlich mit J. Schoon-Janßen, *Umstrittene "Apologien" in den Paulusbriefen*, Göttingen 1991, 9: "jede Selbstrechtfertigung..." [149]) und insofern einbeziehe, dass Paulus "diese Selbstdarstellung seines Lebens freiwillig" verfasst habe (271). Wie gelangt K. zu diesen Resultaten?

In der *Einleitung* (1-31) berichtet er über das Betz'sche Vorgehen, über rhetorische und epistolographische Analysen sowie über das Miteinander beider Zugänge (6-20), ferner über sophistische, platonische und aristotelische Rhetorik (21-27). Einleuchtend stellt K. die ambivalenten paulinischen Bezugnahmen auf "Überzeugung" und "Erkenntnis" (s. nur Gal 1,10; 2Kor 11,6) in diesen Rahmen, wirft überdies (28-31) einen kurzen Blick auf die Bedingungen, unter denen Paulus eine gewisse rhetorische Schulung erfahren haben dürfte.

Kap. 1 (32-117) hat es, da K. "von dem methodischen Vorrang der

epistolographischen Analyse" (158) ausgeht, mit dem Verhältnis des Schreibens an die galatischen Gemeinden zum antiken Briefformular zu tun. K. weist auf Momente hin, die beim Vergleich mit anderen Briefen auffallen, so auf das Fehlen einer Danksagung nach dem Präskript (32-38) und die statt dessen mit θαυμάζω ὅτι (1,6) erfolgende tadelnde Eröffnung, die als "eine in den Papyri mannigfach belegte body-opening-formula" begriffen werden muss (99-106, hier 103). Überdies unternimmt K. es (39-119), "die epistolographische Analyse um die Referenzgröße der Rechtspapyri zu erweitern" (268). Ausgehend von den Entsprechungen zwischen 5,2-6 (ἰδε ἐγὼ Παῦλος κτλ.) und 6,11-15 (ἰδετε πηλικοὶς ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα κτλ.), "die in der Forschung bisher so nicht wahrgenommen" worden seien (268), vertritt er die ähnlich zuvor von G.J. Bahr ("The Subscriptions in the Pauline Letters", JBL 87 [1968] 27-41) für 5,2-6,18 und von F. Schnider – W. Stenger (*Studien zum neutestamentlichen Briefformular*, Leiden 1987) für 6,11-17 vertretene Auffassung, es sei hier die juristische Kategorie *subscriptio* angemessen (bes. 45-49; vgl. 307: P. Meyer 13 [*subscriptio* in der 1. Person]), freilich sowohl für 5,2-6 als auch für 6,11-15 (1. Person [u.a. 5,2; 6,11]; Eigenhändigkeitsvermerk [6,11]; zusammenfassender Charakter der betreffenden Ausführungen). Hinweise auf den juristischen Charakter anderer Formulierungen des Briefes (zumal 1,20 ["Schwurformel"]; vgl. 2,7-8 [aufgefasst als Zitat]) und auf die Dichte juristischen Vokabulars im Galaterbrief (74-95) treten ergänzend hinzu, vor allem die bereits gestreifte Behauptung, mit 5,7 beginne das eigenhändige *post scriptum* (vgl. 44, n. 31, 67, n. 102: Parallelen aus den Papyri [vgl. 308f.]), das "vorrangig den... Begriff der christlichen Freiheit" (2,4; 5,1.13) absichern solle (71). Es seinerseits (s. zu ihm 61-73, 78-81, 106-115) werde durch die *subscriptio* 6,11-15 und durch das nachfolgende briefliche "Postskript" abgeschlossen. Dieses sei natürlich auch auf den ganzen Brief zu beziehen und weise mit dem Imperativ von 6,17a "eine typisch briefliche Ermahnung" auf (114). Freilich habe das Dokument doch "keinen brieflichen Abschluss, der der Form eines Postskripts genügen würde" (114). Zu diesem Urteil nötige neben dem Fehlen von Grüßen nicht zuletzt zweierlei (114): Der Hinweis auf die στίγματα Jesu am paulinischen Leib (6,17b) sei nach Analogie der Nennung besonderer äußerer Merkmale Unterzeichnender ("Signalement") bei juristischen Urkunden zu verstehen (78-80); der Vers 6,18 habe als sekundär zu gelten, sofern der Vokativ ἀδελφοί bei paulinischen Schlussgrüßen keine Entsprechung habe und das ἀμήν auch sonst fast durchweg hinzugetreten sei (106-111).

Kap. 2 (120-150) wurde o. im Blick auf die strittige rhetorische Klassifizierung des Galaterbriefs schon herangezogen. Über das Referat des diesbezüglichen Dissenses (120-126) hinaus und abgesehen davon, dass nun auf die These von einem apologetischen Brief (1,1-5,6) mit einer weichen Definition von "Apologie" zugegangen wird: "Apologie als Inszenierung des Ich" (146-150), führt K. hier (127-140) vor allem Indizien dafür auf, dass die Gattung des rhetorischen Briefs doch breiter bezeugt zu sein scheint, als man bei dem Betz'schen Verweis allein auf den sog. Siebten Brief Platos (Betz, *Galaterbrief*, 55-56) angenommen hat (127): Pseudo-Demetrius bietet in seinem Briefsteller (vgl. zu ihm auch H.-J. Klauck, *Die antike Briefliteratur und das Neue Testament*, Paderborn 1998, 157-169) als 18. von 21 Brieftypen

den Verteidigungsbrief (127-128); der pseudepigraphe sog. Fünfte Brief des Euripides (311-312) versucht den Dichter "vom Makel seines freiwilligen Exils am Hof des makedonischen Tyrannen Archelaos zu befreien" (131); der Zweite Brief des Demosthenes (134-135, 313-317) weist Momente der Selbstverteidigung des exilierten Verfassers auf. Während diese Vergleichsdokumente z.B. auf 4,8-20 und auf 1,13-2,21 Licht werfen können (129, 137-138, 139, 140), wird der deliberativen Anmutung der paränetischen Aussagen von Gal 5-6 (125, 141, 145) folgendermaßen begegnet (140-145): Libanios und der byzantinische Lexikograph Ammonios unterscheiden die Ermahnung von der Beratung, sofern die symbuleutische Rede "stets zwei grundsätzlich diskussionswürdige Wahlmöglichkeiten gegeneinander abwägt" (270), und das sei beim Galaterbrief mit seinen *eschatologisch-apokalyptischen* Alternativen nicht der Fall (143).

Kap. 3 (151-267) beschäftigt sich mit rhetorischen Gesichtspunkten. Einem übersichtlichen Tableau zur *dispositio* (160; vgl. 264-267, 271-272) ist insbesondere zu entnehmen, dass die zuvor als *subscriptions* bezeichneten Passagen 5,2-6 und 6,11-15 nun als *perorationes* (genauer: als *peroratio* und Teil einer *peroratio*) beurteilt werden, und zwar für zwei große Reden, nämlich 1,6-5,6 und 5,7-6,17/18, deren erste zwei kleinere in sich bergen soll: am Ende des als *narratio* eingeschätzten Abschnitts 1,13-2,21 mit 2,14b-21 die (auf die galatische Situation hin stilisierte) des Paulus in Antiochien, in 3,1-5,1 dann eine längere (mit *refutatio* [3,6-4,7] und *probatio* [4,8-20]). Festgehalten sei noch: (1) K. rechnet damit, dass man bei der paulinischen Apologie zwischen der *quaestio finita*, *infinita* und *coniuncta* zu unterscheiden habe: "Beschneidung"/Toraobservanz (136[n.8], 153, 186, 248), Abrahamsnachkommenschaft und Evangeliumsverkündigung des Apostels (153-154, 212, 223, 242, 248, 264). (2) Im Anschluß an A. Pitta (*Disposizione*) benutzt K. den Begriff *subpropositio* (s. bes. 159) und stellt neben 1,11-12 und 5,13a als *subpropositiones* der beiden großen Reden weitere, welche (zumal) 1,6-5,6 bestimmen: 2,15-16 (als *propositio* der antiochenischen Rede "zugleich eine *subpropositio* für den weiteren Gesamtaufbau des Galaterbriefes" [192]) und 3,6 – zu drei Thesen über Abraham, Gesetz und Christus hinführend (3,7b.10a.13a.; vgl. 3,15-18; 3,19-25; 3,26-4,7). (3) Der "allegorische" Passus 4,21-5,1 verlange von den Adressaten mannigfache Verknüpfungen und Ergänzungen: Sie hätten so bei *vñv* Ἰερουσαλὴμ (v. 25) an die "paulinischen Widersacher" (die in v. 30 "geradezu ein eschatologischer Fluch treffe" [238]) und an deren Verbindung zum Ort Ἱεροσόλυμα von Gal 1-2 zu denken (233, 237, 241), bei der Mutter von v. 26 auch an Paulus als Mutter (vgl. 4,19; 235, 238). Auch verfechte der Galaterbrief hier (s. bes. 236-237) und generell, obwohl "die positive Konnotation von νόμος in 5,14 und 6,2 nicht mit der früheren Verwendung dieses Begriffes... (vgl. 3,12.21.23 u.ö.)" zusammenstimme, eine "Ablehnung der jüdischen Tora als Konsequenz der Freiheit in Christus" (259), und angesichts von 4,25-26 sei beim "Israel Gottes" von 6,16 "wahrscheinlich... das geistige Israel... im Unterschied zum Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα (1Kor 10,18)" im Blick (112).

Im resümierenden *Kap. 4* (268-281) wird u.a. betont, dass die "juristischen Formularanleihen... den Galaterbrief... nicht zu einem juristischen Dokument" werden ließen, vielmehr "im Sinne eines literarischen Spiels" theologisch genutzt würden (269). Den Schlussakzent setzt eine

Besinnung (273-281), die es mit dem "christologische[n] Fundament jener paulinischen Selbstthematisierung" (273) zu tun hat (bes. 6,17; 4,13-14; 3,1; 2,19-20).

Das Buch lohnt die Lektüre! Das ist schon wegen des herangezogenen reichen Vergleichsmaterials so, das m.E. zu Recht für eine schärfere Erfassung der paulinischen "Selbstinszenierung" und des "Anspruch[s] auf apostolische Amtsautorität" (269) geltend gemacht wird. Überdies bietet die Studie eine Fülle von guten Beobachtungen zu Bezügen innerhalb dieses Dokuments: etwa zur Aufnahme der "kleinen Rede" 2,14b-21 in der "großen" ab 3,1 (s. bes. 192, 203, 207) oder zum Rückbezug von 5,1 auf 4,9 (s. bes. 240), der, zusammen mit dem in 6,11 sozusagen wieder aufgenommenen ἴδε von 5,2 (s. bes. 51), wohl die alte Frage (O. Merk, "Der Beginn der Paränese im Galaterbrief", ZNW 60 [1969] 83-104) nach dem "Beginn der Paränese" (s. bes. 249), jedenfalls aber die andere nach dem Abschluss des mit 4,21 beginnenden Passus einer Beantwortung näher bringt.

Andererseits: Gerade die Hauptthesen überzeugen mich nicht, und das dem Galaterbrief zumal zu Judentum und Tora unterstellte theologische Profil kommt m.E. einer Verzeichnung gleich – einer altehrwürdigen, die sich bis auf Tertullian (und Marcion) zurückführen lässt (s. nur *Adversus Marcionem* 5,2,1). Zur Kritik gibt überdies die Entscheidung Anlass, dass "die jüdisch-aramäische Epistolographie ausgeklammert bleibt" (10, n. 30). Besonders bedauerlich ist ferner die Nichtberücksichtigung des o.g. Überblicks von H.-J. Klauck zur antiken und neutestamentlichen Briefliteratur. Vermisst habe ich zudem neben anderem die Benutzung zweier besonders wichtiger Arbeiten zu Gal 2,11-21: des zuerst 1991 (*Bib* 72, 217-236) erschienenen Aufsatzes "Transgressor by Nullifying God's Grace. A Study of Gal 2,18-21" von J. Lambrecht und der im gleichen Jahr veröffentlichten Dissertation von A. Wechsler (*Geschichtsbild und Apostelstreit*, Berlin 1991), zumal meine eigene Monographie (primär) zu diesem Passus (*Sünder oder Übertreter*, Tübingen 1992; vgl. ders., *Antijudaismus im Galaterbrief?*, Freiburg Schweiz-Göttingen 1999) zwar genannt (188, n. 52), aber nicht ausgewertet wird. Die Auseinandersetzung mit den letztgenannten Studien hätte K. vermutlich vorsichtiger urteilen lassen: ob nun bei der methodisch heiklen, nämlich letztlich von Röm 4,15b ausgehenden Interpretation des παραβάτης-Terminus von 2,18 im Sinne des Übertretens des Gesetzes (s. bes. 196-198) – und nicht: des Christuserignisses (2,21b) –, ob bei der erneut den Römerbrief (5,20) bemühen Auslegung des χάριν von 3,17 auf eine sündenvermehrnde Funktion des Gesetzes hin (220-221 samt n. 56; anders u.a. C. Burchard, "Noch ein Versuch zu Galater 3,19 und 20", *Spuren eines Weges*. FS. B. Janowski [Hrsg. T. Podella – P. Riede] [Heidelberg 1993] 63-81 [s. dazu nur Bachmann, *Antijudaismus*, 117-118, n. 167]) oder ob bei den Bemerkungen zu den ἔργα νόμου (s. bes. 186-199, 223 [vgl. dazu nur Bachmann, *Antijudaismus*, 1-56]: unklar, inwiefern an Tun, Nicht-Tun des Gesetzes oder an seine Vorschriften zu denken ist [vgl. 221: die "gängelnden Vorschriften des Gesetzes"]) und zur 1. Person Singular in 2,18-21 (s. bes. 195-201: unklar, ob generell der Einzelne vor Gott im Blick ist oder doch eher der Judenchrist Petrus [v. 18] bzw. der Judenchrist Paulus [vv. 19-20]) und zur 1. Person Plural (etwa) in dem (wie o. angedeutet) ohnehin mit erheblicher Willkür ausgelegten Passus 4,21-5,1 (s. bes. 235 [samt n. 118],

238: das "obere Jerusalem" als "unsere Mutter", also auch des Judenchristen Paulus, der hier gleichwohl selbst als "Mutter" assoziiert werden soll).

Natürlich wäre mit den angenommenen *subscriptions* 5,2-6 und 6,11-15 die forschungsgeschichtliche Aporie — *genus iudiciale* trotz Paränese? — aufgelöst, und die Behauptung, 6,18 sei erst sekundär hinzugewachsen, würde die juridischen Momente des Schreibens unterstreichen. Aber: Die Parallelität von 5,2-6 und 6,11-15 — die, anders als K. suggeriert, schon seit längerem Beachtung findet (s. dazu nur Bachmann, *Sünder*, 111-115; vgl. ferner F.J. Matera, *Galatians*, Collegeville 1992) — ist erstens schwerlich auf jene beiden Partien beschränkt (vgl. nur 5,11 mit 6,12); zweitens und vor allem hilft sie nicht über das Problem hinweg, dass in 5,2(-6) ein Eigenhändigkeitsvermerk (anders als in 6,11[-15]) nun einmal fehlt, also ein Element, das bei einer *subscriptio* kaum fehlen darf. Damit dürfte das zur Überwindung jener Aporie errichtete Gebäude zusammenbrechen. So mag der Blick dafür frei werden, dass der Passus 5,2-6,17 für die angeredeten Heidenchristen dasjenige zu sagen versucht, was in 2,18b-21 im Blick auf Judenchristen formuliert wurde, und wie dort das durch (die Hingabe Jesu und insofern) die Liebe bestimmte gottgefällige Leben (Präsens!) im Zentrum stand, so ist das auch in 5,13-6,10 (s. bes. 5,14; 6,2) der Fall. Gegen die Streichung des Verses 6,18 spricht im übrigen: die selbst beim ἁμήν nahezu lückenlose handschriftliche Bezeugung; ein ἁμήν am Schluss des Dokuments (vgl. 3Makk 7,23; 4Makk 18,24) entspricht dem ebenfalls ungewöhnlichen ἁμήν am Ende des Präskripts (1,5 [vgl. Apk 1,7;22,2]; s. Schnider — Stenger, *Studien*, 147); die freundliche Anrede der ἀδελφοί knüpft nach den recht harschen Worten von 6,17(a) an den verbindlichen Ton von 6,16 an, scheint sogar nahezu nötig, wenn Paulus, der Ἰσραήλ wie seine Zeitgenossen sonst nur im Blick auf wirkliche Juden benutzt (so zumal P. Richardson, *Israel in the Apostolic Church*, Cambridge 1969 [zu/gegen K., 113 samt n. 60]), auch den Ausdruck "Israel Gottes" analog verstanden wissen will.

Für diese Auslegung von 6,16 können auch "Israel" nennende Formulierungen am (bzw. gegen) Ende zweier jüdischer "Briefe" geltend gemacht werden, nämlich in 4QMMT C31-32 und in PapMur 42,7 (s. dazu nur Bachmann, *Antijudaismus*, 159-189, hier 180). Diese Dokumente lassen darüber hinaus erkennen, dass die Berücksichtigung solchen semitischen Materials den epistolographischen Zugang zum Galaterbrief gestärkt hätte (vgl. zu PapMur 42 Schnider — Stenger, *Studien*, 137-138, und vgl. noch PapMur 43, einen Fluch- und Drohbrief Bar Kokhbas, sowie PapMur 46,9-10, wo ein Gruß an die Unterzeichnung angeschlossen wird). Bei einer epistolographisch-rhetorischen Würdigung des Schreibens an die galatischen Gemeinden wären gerade die zahlreichen Berührungen mit dem polemisch-halakhischen Dokument 4QMMT (s. zu ihnen nur Bachmann, *Antijudaismus*, 33-56) zu berücksichtigen. Auch von hier aus ergibt sich die Frage, ob die Klassifizierung von Gal 1,1-6,18 bzw. von Gal 1,1-5,6 durch den Terminus "apologetischer Brief" zur Klärung taugt, zumal ihn ja K. selbst durch seine weiche Definition des Terminus "Apologie" der Prägnanz beraubt. Überdies kann man die "Paränese" von Gal 5-6 schwerlich durchschlagend gegen einen — zumindest partiell — symbuleutischen Charakter des Galaterbriefs geltend machen. Libanios' und Ammonios' Differenzierung zwischen Paränetischem und Symbuleutischem setzt doch eine Nähe beider Begriffe

voraus, und das von Pseudo-Demetrius gebotene Beispiel eines “symbuleutischen Briefs” (bei Klauck, *Briefliteratur*, 161) weist denn auch bemerkenswerterweise das Moment des Abwägens zwischen Alternativen nicht auf – das dem Galaterbrief im Übrigen kaum fehlt (s. nur 5,3-6).

Insgesamt: Die Dissertation K.s ist einerseits wegen des herangezogenen reichen Vergleichsmaterials (zumal: Briefe; Rechtspapyri) und wegen treffender Beobachtungen am Galaterbrief selbst fraglos eine Bereicherung für das Gespräch über die epistolographische und rhetorische Einschätzung dieses Schreibens. Andererseits können die vorgetragenen Hauptthesen (mich) kaum überzeugen – nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil wichtige semitische Vergleichstexte zum Galaterbrief nicht berücksichtigt und manche seiner Strukturmerkmale nicht scharf genug erfasst worden sind. (Die äußere Gestaltung des Buchs ist fast durchweg gelungen; nur wenige Tippfehler sind stehen geblieben [z.B. 116 in der Überschrift], und verschiedentlich stimmt bei den Rückverweisen die Seitenzahl nicht ganz [137 u.ö.]).

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